

Dr. SACMEVERELL'S
S P E E C H
UPON HIS
IMPEACHMENT
A T

The Bar of the House of LORDS, in
Westminster-Hall, March 7. 17th.

With REFLECTIONS thereupon,
Paragraph by Paragraph.

Wherein the Charge of the COMMONS against
Him is fully justify'd, from his Sermons at *St. Paul's*,
Nov. 5. 1709. and at *Derby*, *Aug. 15. 1709.* from
his Fast-Sermon before the University of *Oxford*,
June 10. 1702. His *Political Union* printed there the
same Month: His Assize-Sermon preach'd before
that University, the Judges, and Grand Jury,
March 9. 1703. His *Character of a Low Churchman*,
and his *Rights of the Church of England*.

To which are added,

Her present Majesty's Letter when Princess, to the
Queen; Prince George's and the Lord *Churchil's* (now
Duke of *Marlborough*) Letters to *K. James*; together with
the Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry at *Nottingham*,
with whom her present Majesty join'd.

*Thine own Mouth condemneth thee, and not I; yea, thine
own Lips testify against thee. Job 13. 6.*

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LONDON

THE
PREFACE
TO ALL

True Protestants,

But especially Those of the
Church of *England*.

GENTLEMEN,

THE God of Truth having told us, That a Kingdom divided against it self cannot stand, 'tis your concern in a particular manner to guard against those Divisions, and to mark those who cause them, as you would avoid the Consequences. 'Tis indeed the Interest of Protestants of all Denominations; but as you are most able in every respect to quench those Flames, you are under a more particular Obligation than others to do it, because the chief of those

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those who pour Oil into the Fire shelter themselves under the Protection of your venerable Name and Communion, tho it be evident by their Practice, that they are gone out from you, because they were never of you. 'Tis they who endanger the Church, tho they have slanderously laid it upon Her Majesty and Her Administration, as will appear undeniably true by the following Sheets, which take in a much larger Field of Proof than what was laid before the Lords by the House of Commons, as appears by the Title-Page. Our Honourable Patriots confin'd themselves to his Derby and St. Paul's Sermons; whereas there are as evident and strong Proofs of the Crimes he was charg'd with in his other Pamphlets mention'd, out of which there are large Quotations here inserted to prove the Truth of the Charge against him, and the hateful Prevarication and Falshood of the Speech he made in his own Defence. If we look upon the Epistle of Gildas our Countryman, and compare the Practices of the British Clergy in his days, which did not only precede but portend the Ruin of their Country, with the Practices of Dr. Sacheverell and the Clergy of his Faction, the Resemblance will be found very great: but we hope God will avert the Omen, since we have a glorious Queen of so much Piety at our Head, an excellent Parliament, who have so bravely asserted our Constitution; a gallant and victorious Army, who as they have done so much to reduce the great Patron of Tyranny abroad, are the Terror of his Faction at home, and far from being infected with those slavish and seditious Principles, by which so many of our hot-headed Clergymen have rais'd a Rebellion among us. 'Tis also our Happiness that we have so many Bishops and moderate Clergymen, who are an Ornament to the Church, and a great Security to our Constitution. 'Tis by following their Example, Gentlemen, that you have it in your Power to deliver the Church from the Scandal of such Pretenders. Her Majesty gloriously leads the way, and by her most gracious Speech has put a Damp upon the

Spirits

Spirits of the restless Faction. She has disarmed them at once, by approving the Proceedings of both Houses of Parliament against that First-Rate Incendiary Dr. Sacheverell, and by agreeing to the Charge of the Honourable House of Commons, That he falsely insinuated the Church to be in danger from her Administration. So that 'tis our own fault if we do not make our selves happy, by concurring with Her Majesty to procure that desirable Union of the Hearts of all her People in the Bonds of mutual Affection, that so there may remain no other Contention among us, but who shall exceed one another in contributing to advance our present Happiness, and secure the Protestant Succession: Or as King William happily express'd it in his last Speech from the Throne, That there may be no other Distinction heard of among us, but of those who are for the Protestant Religion and the present Establishment, and of those who are for a Popish Prince and a French Government.

The necessity of this can be doubted by none who consider the rage and fury of the present Faction against moderate Churchmen as well as Dissenters: for shou'd God in his Wrath ever suffer the Pretender to Usurp the Throne, we may see by their present Treatment of moderate Churchmen, both in their Persons and Reputations as false Brethren, that they will make no difference betwixt them and Dissenters; but fill our Prisons and Scaffolds with both, as they did in the late Reigns. 'Tis therefore to be hop'd that the rest of our Bishops will follow the laudable Example of the Lord Bishop of Sarum, and by some publick Declaration under their bands clear our excellent Church from the Scandal of such false Pretenders to her Communion, and expose them in their proper Colours for praying one way and preaching another; which has given such a wound to Religion, as his Lordship justly observes in the 15th Page of his Speech.

Speech. This is offer'd with all submission, tho it seems to be more necessary than the Declaration of the two Archbishops and twelve Bishops in 1696. against the Absolution of the Traitors, Sir William Perkins and Sir John Friend, at the Gallows, by three Nonjurant Clergymen, who had excluded themselves from the Communion of the Church ; whereas many of our present Incendiaries do still keep in her Communion with a design to betray and undermine both her and the State, as they falsely charge it upon others, who are her truest Sons, and the greatest Patrons of both.

Reflections

Reflections on Dr. Sacheverell's Speech, &c.

TWOULD seem the Doctor is resolv'd to be beforehand with the Government, in publishing what he can of his Trial. His Answers to the Articles of Impeachment were publish'd before he was brought to the Bar, handed about first privately to animate his Party, and then publish'd to throw hateful Aspersions upon the Commons of *Great Britain*, as if they had impeach'd him without just cause, and to heighten the Resentments of Papists, Nonjurants, Jacobites, and ignorant Bigots; who pretend a Zeal to the Church, tho they know nothing of it but the Name. We all know what effect this had in raising the late Rebellions and Tumults.

Being proud of his Success, he seems resolv'd to pursue the same methods; and since that time has publish'd a Folio Collection of Passages, refer'd to in his Answer to the Articles of Impeachment, in order to justify the Sermons he stands impeach'd for, and to put the Commons in the wrong.

With the same design he has now publish'd his Speech to the House of Lords at their Bar, in his own Defence, against the Impeachment; in order, no doubt, to appeal to his rebellious Mob, and to blacken their Lordships, for passing a Censure upon him for the High Crimes and Misdemeanors which have been fully prov'd against him by no less Accusers than the Commons of *Great Britain*. So that, now he practises what he condemn'd himself in the Dedication of his fifth of November Sermon, viz. *Rebellious Appeals to the People*. One wou'd have thought, considering the Rebellion he had rais'd already, had he been endow'd with the least Sense of Loyalty or Religion, he wou'd have forborn the Practice; but he confirms what the Scripture says of evil Men and Seducers, *That they wax worse and worse*. In the mean time, it seems to be a just Judgment upon him, that he was so far infatuated as to provoke by his insolent and seditious Behaviour those who were his Judges, and to appeal to the Mob, as if he had had a mind to overawe the Lords in their

Sentence, as he endeavour'd to disturb them in the Course of the Trial, and force them to break it off. This is such a piece of Insolence, as no Person accus'd ought to be guilty of to an inferior Court, and much less to the highest Court of Judicature in the Nation.

Perhaps his Design may be to make up some part of the Expence he complains he has been at in his Trial; and no doubt the profit of the Papers he has publish'd will be very considerable: but Prudence might have taught him, that such an Aggravation of his Crime might very probably have heighten'd his Punishment beyond what the profits of his scandalous Papers cou'd amount to, tho the Lords have given such a proof of Moderation in their Sentence, as his Party are absolute strangers to; and which he no way deserv'd, considering his insolent Behaviour, and the Rebellion of his Faction.

Dr. Sacheverell's DEDICATION.

*To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,
in Parliament assembled.*

May it please Your Lordships,

I*T hath been my hard Fortune to be misunderstood, at a time when I endeavour'd to express my self with the utmost Plainness; even the Defence I made at Your Lordships Bar, in hopes of clearing the Innocence of my Heart, hath been grievously misrepresented. For which reason I have humbly presum'd to offer it in this manner to Your Lordships Perusal.*

My Lords, These are the very words I spoke to Your Lordships. I hope they are so plain and express, as not to be capable of any Misconstruction: and may I so find Mercy at the hand of God, as they are in every respect intirely agreeable to my Thoughts and Principles.

*I am, my Lords, Your Lordships most
Obedient and most Dutiful Servant,
Henry Sacheverell.*

REFLECTIONS.

Whether the Defence the Doctor made at the Bar of the Lords was express'd with the utmost Plainness, or otherwise, we shall see in the course of these Reflections; but what occasion had he to offer it in this manner to their Lordships perusal, since he knew they might have it in Manuscript from the Clerks? or if he thought 'twas more convenient they should have it in print, he ought to have shew'd more respect to their Lordships, than to publish it as an Appeal to the Mob at the same time. He cou'd not doubt that his Speech wou'd be faithfully printed in the Trial; and 'tis evident, that when the Publick have both *pro* and *con* before them, they will be more capable of forming a right Judgment

ment of the matter: but that wou'd not answer his end, which is to strengthen the Prejudices of his Faction, but not to do justice to the Nation. 'Twou'd likewise seem that he mistrusted their Lordships Memory and Judgment, or rather their Justice; what need was there else of telling that these were the very Words he spoke? Or did he think that their Lordships would take his bare Assertion for it, without comparing what he has printed with what has been taken from his mouth by the Clerks? What necessity was there for him to begin with such a solemn Appeal to God, when he does it so often in his Speech? Does he think that Men who swear most frequently, obtain the most credit to what they swear? Or that 'twas sutable to the Character with which he is cloth'd, to be guilty of any thing that might look like swearing in vain? But ill Habits are not easily conquer'd. Certainly if he did not mistrust his own Reputation, one such solemn Appeal had been enough.

Whether this Speech be in every respect agreeable to his Thoughts and Principles or no, is not in the power of Man to determine; but if they be so now, 'twill appear by comparing his Speech with his former Sermons, that his Words and Writings have not been always the same: which we shall take notice of, as it falls in our way.

Dr. Sacheverell's SPEECH, Paragraph I.

MY Lords, *The Defence made by my Council has been so full and particular, and the Trial it self drawn out into so great a length, that I should not add to Your Lordships Trouble by saying any thing for My Self, did I not think that in such a Cause as This (wherein the Doctrine of our Church, the Dignity of that Holy Order to which I belong, and even the Common Interest of Christianity it self are so nearly concern'd) it becomes me not to be altogether silent.*

REFLECTIONS.

The Doctor values himself very high, when he says the Doctrine of our Church, the Dignity of his Order, and the common Interest of Christianity are so nearly concern'd in his Cause. By this 'twou'd seem he looks upon himself to be a Representative or common Patron of all the three; why else shou'd so much stress be laid upon the Cause of a single Clergyman? Was the Doctrine of the Church of Christ so much concern'd in the Case of Apostates from it, or the Dignity of the Apostleship in the Treachery of Judas, or the common Interest of Christianity in the Defection of *Hymeneus* and *Philetus*, whose Words did eat like a Canker, as those of the Doctor, that they were not to be censur'd for it? Certainly 'tis the Advantage and Honour of all Societys, to have rotten Members cut off from 'em; whereas 'tis their

their Reproach and unspeakable Loss, to have them continu'd, so as to endanger the corrupting of those that are sound: And if the Lords and Commons of *Great Britain* had not apprehended the Doctor to be such a rotten Member, we are oblig'd in Duty to believe, they wou'd never have taken this method with him. Whatever the Doctor and his Faction may think, 'tis certain that by his Speech he has more convinc'd the thinking part of Mankind of the Truth of this, than he could have done by his Silence.

SPEECH, Paragraph II.

For, My Lords, it has been own'd by some of the Managers for the Honourable House of Commons, that tho I am the Person impeach'd, yet my Condemnation is not the thing principally aim'd at. I am, it seems, an Insignificant Tool of a Party, not worth regarding; the avow'd Design of my Impeachment is, by the means of it to procure an Eternal and Indelible Brand of Infamy to be fixt in a Parliamentary way, on all those who maintain the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, and to have the Clergy directed what Doctrines they are to preach and what not. And therefore, as Insignificant as I am in my self, yet the Consequences of my Trial (if rightly represented to Your Lordships by some of those Gentlemen) are of the highest moment and importance.

REFLECTIONS.

Every one will own the Character of an *Insignificant Tool of a Party not worth regarding*, was never more justly apply'd than to the Doctor; his whole Conduct has been a continu'd proof of it, and we have reason to believe that the wiser Men of his Party are asham'd that ever they made use of such a Tool: as who indeed wou'd not, when they see a man set up for the Champion of a Cause, which he basely betrays, and who has fix'd an Eternal and Indelible Brand of Infamy upon both his Cause and himself, in his solemn Appeal to God that he does not condemn the Revolution, the Protestant Succession, and the Toleration, or rather Indulgence as he calls it? since the two former are absolutely inconsistent with his Doctrine of Non-Resistance, and the latter with his Pretensions of Zeal for the Church.

He seems to be in a mighty concern, lest the Parliament should fix an Eternal and Indelible Brand of Infamy on all who maintain the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, and should direct the Clergy what Doctrines they are to preach, and what not. There's so much Ignorance and Malice in this Reflection, that 'tis hard to say which of 'em has the ascendant. Our Benefic'd Clergy who preach that Doctrine, do fix an indelible Brand of Infamy upon themselves; since 'tis contrary to the Declaration of Rights, now made a Law,
and

and the Basis of our Constitution, wherein not only the Resistance, but the Dethronement of *James II.* is justify'd, because he overturn'd those very Laws by which he held the Crown. Non-resistance is also condemn'd by the 1st of *William and Mary*, *Act 36.* which absolves us from our Allegiance to any King or Queen that shall profess the Popish Religion, or marry a Papist. By all which 'tis plain, that those Clergymen brand themselves with Infamy, who preach contrary to those Laws, which establish our Religion and the Protestant Succession, and contrary to their own Oaths to the Queen, whose Title was founded on the Claim of Right, and could never have been obtain'd without that Resistance, in which her Majesty so gloriously concur'd. But further, since their Non-resistance has now broke out into open Rebellion, and must be a continual source of it against her Majesty and her Protestant Successors, whose Title is founded on the contrary Principle, 'tis certainly high time for the Parliament to set a further Mark of Infamy and Disgrace on such as continue to preach that rebellious Doctrine, which subverts the Constitution, overturns the Power of Parliaments, and lodges all the Legislative and Executive Power in the Prince; and contrary to God's express Declaration in the Holy Scriptures, makes him the Author of Tyranny, and confers the sacred Title of his Vicegerents on such Princes as overturn our Laws, whom the Lord Chief Justice *Braddon*, and our other antient Lawyers and Politicians call the *Devil's Lieutenants*. Besides, it very ill became a Man in *Sacheverell's* Circumstances, to accuse the Commons of *Great Britain* thus at the Bar of the Lords, and to insinuate in the face of the Queen and both Houses of Parliament, as if they had not a power to direct Clergymen what they are to preach, or not to meddle with matters of State in their Pulpits. Does not the Doctor yet know that the Laws of *England* have made the Bible, and the Articles of the Church the Standard by which our Clergy are to preach? And if so, have they not a power to censure them if they practise the contrary? Will he dispute her Majesty's Ecclesiastical Supremacy to her Face, and does he not know yet that the Canons and Constitutions of the Church receive all their Authority from the Ratification of the Crown? or will he not allow the Parliament to be Judges of what they ratify by Law? We are very much oblig'd to him for discovering so plainly, that his High-Church is as much for implicate Faith, as the Church of *Rome*.

SPEECH, Paragraph III.

Since I am the unfortunate Occasion of bringing these Matters in Judgment before Your Lordships, it will behove me, I think, af-

ter what has been pleaded in my behalf by my Council learned in the Law, to say somewhat also for my Self, in order to clear the Innocence of my Intentions, and remove that Load of Guilt and Infamy, which may be laid upon me, should Your Lordships determine (as, I trust in God, you will not) that the Articles of Impeachment exhibited, have been made Good against Me.

R E F L E C T I O N S.

Here's High-Church Arrogance with a Vengeance! Does the Doctor think so well of himself, as to suppose that his Speech would be able to remove that just Load of Guilt and Infamy which their Lordships have laid upon him, by determining that the Articles of Impeachment have been made good against him? We are come to a fine pass indeed, when a single criminal Priest has the boldness to insinuate, that his bare Assertion shall have more weight with the Nation, than the Judgment of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled. 'Tis well however for the Nation, that they are not yet so universally blinded, and that the Doctor's groundless Trust in God that their Lordships would not find the Articles against him, has met with a just Reward, which is threaten'd by the Divine Legislator against all such Hypocrites, to wit, *that their Hopes shall perish.*

S P E E C H, Paragraphs IV, V.

With Your Lordships Permission then, I shall lay before you some few General Remarks, which in my humble Opinion may be added to what my Council have already observ'd, concerning the Methods taken by the Managers for the Honourable House of Commons, to prove and support the Articles of their Charge. And shall then with Your Lordships Leave say somewhat severally to the Articles themselves, which may serve to remind Your Lordships of what my Council before offer'd more at large, and with greater Advantage.

My Lords, the Charge brought against me in these Articles is of a very high, and heinous Nature; and had it been as clearly made out, as it has been strongly affirm'd, it would justly have expos'd me to a very severe Sentence. But the more heinous the Charge is, the more evident and undeniable, I should think, the Proof ought to be. And how, my Lords, has this Charge been supported in the several Articles of it? By plain, direct, and express Passages produc'd, and read to Your Lordships out of my Sermons; or by Intendments, unnecessary Implications, and strain'd Constructions? By laying entire Sentences before Your Lordships, and relying upon what was manifestly contain'd in them; or by piecing broken Sentences, and conjoining distant and independent Passages, in order to make me speak, what I never thought of?

R E F L E C T

R E F L E C T I O N S.

This is such a scandalous Charge upon the House of Commons, and worded with so much Insolence, as might justly have provok'd them to impeach him for High Treason, as they might have done by Law, had they not been more tender of Blood than he and his seditious Faction, who before this Speech was made did rise in Rebellion, and mis'd little of involving the whole City and Nation in Blood and Fire. I believe 'tis unprecedented, and that 'twill nowhere appear upon record, that ever any Criminal treated a House of Commons in such a reproachful manner, as to charge them to their face before the Queen and the Lords, that they supported their Articles by Intendments, unnecessary Implications, strain'd Constructions, by piecing broken Sentences, and conjoining distant and independent Passages, in order to make a Man speak what he never thought of; for this is at once to charge them with Weakness as well as Wickedness. 'Tis well however the Doctor owns, that if the Articles had been clearly made out, they would justly have expos'd him to a very severe Sentence; but since their Lordships have been pleas'd to be very moderate in that matter, 'tis a proof of such Lenity as bespeaks a Temper in the Revolution-Party, that the Doctor's High-Church Faction has no Title to.

S P E E C H, Paragraphs VI, VII.

I am unacquainted, my Lords, with the Methods of Legal Proof, and little thought I should have had this Occasion of enquiring into them. But, as far as I am able to comprehend any thing of this Nature, I should think, that there cannot be a clearer Indication that I am not guilty of having asserted what I am charg'd by the several Articles to have said, than that so many hours Learning and Eloquence have been employ'd in proving me to have said it. Had I really affirm'd those Propositions for which I am accus'd, my Sermons being before Your Lordships, the Places wherein such Propositions were directly contain'd, might have been refer'd to, and read, with the same Ease as my Council refer'd to the Passages contain'd in the several Writings, and Sermons of the Reverend Fathers, and other eminent Divines of our Church, wherein they taught the Doctrine of Non-Resistance in the same Extent as I maintain'd it, or in Terms much stronger.

These Passages, produc'd by my Council, were barely read to Your Lordships: No Argument, no Colours were us'd, because None were necessary to prove what Propositions were laid down in those Passages; whereas to prove me guilty of having asserted what is laid to my Charge, after my Sermons and Prefaces were read to Your Lordships, much Art and Industry were us'd to per-

suade Your Lordships, that such Assertions were really contain'd in them.

REFLECTIONS.

The Doctor continues his Charge of Falshood and Dishonesty upon the Commons, but with how little ground we shall find anon, when we come to justify the Articles from his Sermons. In the mean time, we cannot but take notice, that the Managers for the Commons upon whom this Charge does principally reflect, are vindicated by a much better Authority, since they have receiv'd the Thanks of the House for their faithful management in the discharge of the Trust repos'd in them. There was no great need of Learning or Eloquence to prove the Charge in the Articles, tho there might be need of both to convince some People, who wilfully shut their Eyes against plain matter of Fact, as the Doctor and his Faction are resolv'd to do. It must be own'd however, that the Proof would have been much more easy and plain, had the Doctor observ'd either Method or Temper in his Sermons, which 'tis impossible for one inspir'd with so much Fury to do; for the Sallys of his Passion did perfectly confound his Senses, and disturb the Order of his Matter; so that there was a necessity of conjoining distant Passages of the same tendency to make good the Charge: therefore the Doctor should not have blam'd the Commons for what was his own fault. He is very fond of his own Performances; but any Man who has read the Collection of Passages, which he has brought to justify his slavish Doctrine, and compares them with the Writings from whence he took them, will see they are basely piec'd and patch'd, and many of them grossly perverted, as we shall have occasion to take notice afterwards.

'Tis fit here to observe, that his slanderous Charge upon the Commons does now recoil upon the Lords, who have determin'd that the Commons made good their Articles.

SPEECH, Paragraphs VIII, IX.

My Lords, when my Words were capable of two Senses, the worst, and most invidious, tho at the same time the most strain'd, and Unnatural Construction, has been always made of them. Nay, when my words were so plain and express, that it was impossible to put any Criminal Glosses or Colours upon them, I have been accus'd of meaning the direct contrary to what I have said: And when I press'd the Duty of Allegiance to the Queen, your Lordships were told, that it was most certain, I meant the Pretender.

To aggravate my Guilt, I have been accus'd not only for what I am suppos'd to have said, but for what I am allow'd not to have said: not only for what I have taken notice of in my Sermons, but

for

for what I have pass'd by unobserv'd: I have been charg'd with Negative Crimes; as if what I omitted to say, had been omitted with Design, and my Silence it self were criminal.

REFLECTIONS.

The Doctor goes on to charge the Commons with his own Crimes, and says they accus'd him of meaning the direct contrary to what he said; and when he press'd the Duty of Allegiance to the Queen, they said he meant the Pretender. The Commons are not alone in this Opinion: for 'tis certain if we owe unconditional Obedience to Princes, as the Doctor asserts, and that 'tis absolutely unlawful to resist them on any pretence whatsoever, the Queen can have no Title to the Crown, but came to it by unlawful Methods, and by consequence has no Claim to our Allegiance. But we know the Faction have a Salvo for that, they can swear to her as a Queen *de facto*, or as Guardian for her pretended Brother: and the Doctor has given the World a sufficient proof by his Speech, that he is capable of swearing to things which are contrary to Truth, Sense and Reason, in as equivocal Terms as any Jesuit in Europe. The Commons had very good reason to charge him with omitting what he ought to have said in several respects, but particularly in what related to the Revolution, and her Majesty's part in it; for had he not been a sworn Enemy to that great and happy turn of Affairs, he would have excepted the Resistance then made at least from his general Proposition, of the utter illegality of resisting Princes in any case whatever.

SPEECH, Paragraphs X, XI.

These, my Lords, are the Methods, that have been made use of to prove me guilty of Crimes, which if prov'd, might affect my Liberty and Fortune; no favourable Allowances have been made to a Minister of the Gospel, discharging the Duty of his Function, and rebuking Vice and Irreligion with an honest and well-meant Zeal, but sometimes perhaps carrying him into Expressions too open, and unguarded. I could add, my Lords, if such a Complaint might not be thought improper from one in my Circumstances, that, in the course of my Accusation, I have been stil'd a Criminal, and treated as such by some of these Honourable Gentlemen, with a Degree of Scorn and Indignity, from which I hop'd my Sacred Profession, my present unhappy Condition, and a regard to this solemn and awful Judicature might have screen'd me.

But, my Lords, I lay aside all Complaints of this Nature, and with Your Lordships Leave shall proceed to make some few, short Observations upon the several Branches of the Charge exhibited against me.

R E F L E C T I O N S.

The Doctor goes on with his usual Insolence and Arrogance, charges the Commons with having carry'd it unduly to a Minister of the Gospel, and applauds his own honest and well-meant Zeal. When a Minister of the Gospel behaves himself contrary to the Duty of his Function, and meddles with such things in the Pulpit as fall under the Cognizance and Determination of Parliaments, and pretends to adjust the Limits of the Prerogative, or the Liberties of the Subject in our present Government, the Archbishop of York tells him in his Sermon of the 30th of January 1700. that he knows not how he can be excus'd from the just Censure of meddling with things that nothing concern him. Railing and Sedition are no part of the Ministerial Function, but make Ministers who use them unfavoury Salt, which by our Saviour's determination is good for nothing but to be trod under foot. This is a sufficient Apology for that just Contempt, which the Commons pour'd upon him for prostituting his sacred Character. His unhappy Condition might indeed have deserv'd some Pity; had he not forfeited all Right to it by his insolent Behaviour, and the Rebellion of his Popish, Jacobite, Nonjurant and High-Church Mob against Queen and Parliament, to interrupt the Course of Justice against him. He is very angry that he should be treated as a Criminal before Conviction, but with as little reason as a Thief or a Highwayman taken in the fact, since the Proof against him was as flagrant. With what confidence can he charge the Commons with Disrespect to the solemn and awful Judicature of the Lords, for treating him with just Contempt, when he himself cannot refrain in the presence of that same awful Judicature, to reproach the Commons with such foul Practices, as if true would make them the worst of Men? Is there more respect due to a seditious Priest than to the whole Representatives of Great Britain? We know he pretends to this in the Dedication of his Assize-Sermon at Oxford in March 1703. where he says the Gentry of the *County of Oxford* involv'd in that of the Clergy; which if it be true, must be in that of the Clergy who pursue the Interest of the Nation, and not of such as he, who would involve it in Blood and Rebellion.

S P E E C H, Paragraph XII.

I am charg'd, my Lords, in the First Article, with having maintain'd, that the necessary means us'd to bring about the late happy Revolution were odious and unjustifiable; in Proof of which it has been urg'd, that I have in general Terms asserted the utter Illegality of Resistance to the Supreme Power upon any Pretence whatsoever. My Lords, The Resistance in that Passage

Passage by me condemn'd, is no where by me apply'd to the Revolution; nor is it applicable to the Case of the Revolution, the Supreme Power not being then resisted.

REFLECTIONS.

The Doctor's Defence on the head of the Revolution is so faint, as plainly discovers the Treachery of his Heart, and his Abhorrence of the Methods by which 'twas carry'd on. There can be nothing more Jesuitical, than to say that the Resistance by him condemn'd is not by him apply'd, or applicable to the Revolution, the Supreme Power not being then resisted: for since, pag. 11. of his *Quarto* Sermon at *St. Paul's*, he asserts the utter Illegality of resisting Princes on any pretence whatsoever, he must needs condemn the Revolution; since all the World, but himself and his Party, who like their Brethren the Papists, have declar'd War against Sense and Reason, owns that 'twas carry'd on by Resistance, that the Prince of *Orange* brought over an Army on purpose to resist the late King and his evil Counsellors, who had rais'd an Army to subvert our Constitution, and was join'd by many of our Nobility, Gentry and Commons in Arms for that very purpose; besides those that took Arms for that same end in many other parts of *Britain* and *Ireland*. His saying that the Supreme Power was not then resisted, is the most hateful prevarication with God and Man that ever was known, and a betraying the Cause which he pretends to defend, since he and his Party allow no other Supreme Power but what's in the Prince; and in that very Page he ridicules such part of the Supreme Power as the Constitution has lodg'd in our Parliament, whom he calls *Supreme Subjects* forsooth. And in the same Page he asserts the Subjects Obligation to an absolute and unconditional Obedience to the Supreme Power in all things lawful, tho every body knows that our Constitution allows no unconditional Obedience, but that our standing Laws, and not the mere Will of our Prince, are the Rule of our Obedience, as the Lord Archbishop of *York* very well expresses it in his Sermon of the 30th of *January*, 1700.

The Doctor's Hatred of the Revolution appears further by pag. 13. of his Sermon, where he asserts, that the deposing Power is to be trusted in the hands of no Mortals but in that of God himself. This is a direct Libel upon the Convention, and the Revolution, by which King *James* was depos'd for subverting our Laws, and the late glorious Queen *Mary* and her Husband the Prince of *Orange* set up in his stead. The Charge of the Commons, that when he press'd the Duty of Allegiance, 'twas not meant to the Queen but to the Pretender, seems to be own'd by himself to be true, in the Quotation at the bottom of his 13th Page, from the Bp of *Sarum's* Vindi-

Vindication of the Church of *Scotland*, where we have these words, Those who have **BUT ONE PRETENDER**, over them could more easily deal with him, and the Doctor has taken special care to put Pretender in Capitals. This can scarcely be call'd a straining of his Sense, considering the Doctor's Conduct, his express condemning the means by which the Revolution was carry'd on, and what has been offer'd to be prov'd against him in print, *viz.* that he hop'd to see *King William Dewitted*. Besides, the publick Rebellion of the Jacobites, Nonjurants and Papists in behalf of the Doctor, is a strong collateral proof that they take him to be a Champion for the Pretender. His Hatred to the Revolution appears also very plain by his Sermon preach'd before the University of *Oxford* the 10th of *June*, 1702. which he refers to in the fifth Page of his Speech; for in the 23d Page of that Sermon, Edit. 2. printed for *Henry Clements*, he says, *That if God's Providence had permitted an accidental Deviation from the English Government and fundamental Constitution, it has at last brought things into their true, proper and rightful Channel again,* which any body may plainly see is aim'd at the Revolution, and that by consequence he thought it to be improper and wrong. And in the 29th Page of his Affize Sermon before the Judges, Grand Jury and University of *Oxford*, Edit. 2. 1704. he speaks of Incendiaries in Government, who to make their *ungodly Stratagems, and Revolutions* pass upon Mankind, have amus'd them with the Vindication of Liberty and Property, &c. 'Tis true, he aims this directly at the Dissenters; but 'tis plain by the whole tenor of that Sermon, that he includes the moderate Churchmen in the Charge, as is evident from pag. 34. where he charges them 'with the popular *Cant of Moderation, and Comprehension, Christian Peace and Union, and the mighty Fears of Popery, &c.*' And, pag. 36. he says, 'That the Cry of Popery has always been the Trumpet to all the Sedition and Rebellion that ever infested this Nation;' which is the direct Language of the Pretender's Friends, and of the profess'd Enemies of the Revolution.

By all this we may see the Falshood of what the Doctor asserts, that he had not the least thought of including the Revolution under his general Assertion, of the utter Illegality of Resistance upon any pretence whatsoever. His pitiful quibble, that those who impute Resistance to the Revolution, cast black and odious Colours upon it, can stand him in no stead in this Case; for every one knows, as has been said already, that the Revolution was a premeditated, and so well concerted a Resistance, that the late *King James* and his Friends were not able to withstand it neither in *England, Scotland, or Ireland*, where many of them lost their Lives in the Quarrel, and he himself was forc'd to run for
it

it once and again: so that the Doctor's miserable Shift to cover his slavish Passive Obedience, from the Practice of all the three Kingdoms who condemn'd it by actual Resistance, argues him not only to be an insignificant, but a scandalous and nonsensical Tool of a Party; since he deliver'd such a notorious Falshood from the Pulpit, repeats it in the face of the Queen and Parliament, and publishes it again thro the whole Nation.

There has been so much said already to his wresting of the Prince of Orange's Declaration, as if he had disclaim'd the least Imputation of Resistance, that 'tis needless to insist upon it; since it appears plain from the express Words of this Declaration, and the Association of the Lords and Gentlemen who join'd him, that they not only design'd Resistance, but to attack K. James and his Army, if he did not redress the Grievances they complain'd of in a Parliamentary way; and that if any Attempt were made upon the Prince, they wou'd pursue them and all their Adherents, and all they found in Arms against him, to their utter ruin and destruction. Now since all these things are notoriously evident to the whole Kingdom, let the World judg whether the Doctor did not condemn the Revolution by his general Assertion; and whether he did not, as the Commons charg'd him, asperse the Memory of his late Majesty, and traduce and condemn the late happy Revolution: and whether he has not made it plain to all Mankind that he is a perjur'd Wretch, by appealing so solemnly to God in the face of the Queen and Parliament that he did not.

S P E E C H, Paragraph XIII, XIV.

My Lords, *I neither expressly apply'd my Doctrine of Non-Resistance to the Case of the Revolution, nor had I the least thoughts of including the Revolution under my general Assertion. I express'd this Doctrine in the same general Terms in which I found it deliver'd by the Apostles of Christ. I taught it as I had learnt it, from the Homilys of our Church, and as I was injoin'd to teach it by the Articles of our Religion. I us'd no other Language than what had been us'd by our First Reformers, by a continu'd Series of Right Reverend Prelates, and other Celebrated Divines now with God, and by many of those Venerable Fathers before whom I stand, and what is perfectly agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm. I had little reason to apprehend that I could ever have been accus'd by the Gentlemen of the House of Commons to Your Lordships as a Criminal, or as an Asperser of the Memory of the late King, for preaching this Doctrine; when others, who preach'd the same Doctrine, in the same Terms, before their late Majestys, before our present Gracious Sovereign (whom I pray God long to preserve!) before each House*

of

of Parliament, before this very House of Commons, have met with publick Approbation. But since it is my singular Misfortune to be accus'd, for what others have receiv'd thanks, in some instances convey'd to them by several of the Managers themselves, I do with all humble Confidence rely upon Your Lordships Justice; not doubting but that the Learned the Judges, if thought necessary to be consulted, will declare what I have in this Case asserted, to be warranted by Law, and the Right Reverend the Bishops will affirm it to be the Doctrine of the Gospel.

The Doctrine I preach'd being the Doctrine of the Homilys of our Church, not express'd only in a few particular Passages of those Homilys, but perfectly agreeable to the whole Tenour, the main Scope and Design of them; and those Homilys being establish'd by the Thirty Nine Articles, as containing Godly and wholesome Doctrine; and those Articles being confirm'd by the 13th of Queen Eliz. and that Statute being made perpetual, and Fundamental to our Constitution by the late Act of Union: I leave it to Your Lordships to consider, how far the Condemnation of Me, on the account of that Doctrine, may affect and shake the present Frame of the British Constitution in Church and State, and tend to dissolve the Union of the two Kingdoms.

REFLECTIONS.

Is not this Blasphemy in the highest degree, to say that he deliver'd the Doctrine in the same general Terms in which he found it deliver'd by the Apostles of Christ? This might go down in a Popish Country, where the Scriptures are kept from the knowledg of the People; but could he think it wou'd go down here? Can he find from the beginning of *Matthew* to the end of the *Revelations*, his Terms of absolute and unconditional Obedience to the Supreme Power, and the utter Illegality of Resistance upon any pretence whatsoever? Does he think we have lost our senses, or must declare War against them, as he and his Party have done; or that any body of common sense can understand St. *Paul* to forbid resisting a Prince who turns Tyrant, subverts Laws, and usurps a despotical Power over the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects, because he forbids resisting such Princes as are the Ministers of God to us for Good, and as are not a Terror to good Works, but to the evil? Is there any Parallel betwixt a Prince who governs so, and a Tyrant? Or does he reckon us so far depriv'd of our common Reason, as to think that the late *K. James*, and others of our Princes, were the Ministers of God to us for our good, when they subverted our Laws and Religion, which God had given us to secure all that was good for us in this Life, and that which is to come? Or that such Princes who debauch'd our Wives and Daughters, polluted the Court and whole Nation by their example, and usurp'd a Power to dispose of our Persons and Estates

at pleasure, were not a terror to the good Works, but to the evil? Then certainly since no man can have the boldness to assert this, with what face can the Doctor and his Party say, that we owe the Obedience enjoin'd by *St. Paul* to one who is a Minister of God for our good, to a Tyrant that becomes his Seourge for our destruction? He might as well say, that we are not to defend our selves against Fire, Sword, Pestilence, and Inundations, which are as much the Judgments of God for our Sins, as his suffering of a Prince to turn Tyrant.

But since the Doctor is such an Admirer of himself, perhaps he may listen to his own Arguments, tho he despise those of all Mankind besides. Then for once let's try how *Henry* can answer *Sacheverell*. *Henry* in his *Political Union*, reprinted lately by *Henry Hills*, but printed first in 1702. with the Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford's* Imprimatur, says, p. 11. 'All Government is founded upon Society, as the very Object of its Operation; and Society upon Laws and Trusts, as the Means and Rules of Intercourse and Traffick, and the Bounds of Property.' Then pray let *Sacheverell* tell *Henry* how this is reconcilable with absolute and unconditional Obedience; for if Government be founded on Society, and Society upon Laws and Trusts, then by consequence Government is founded upon Law and Trust, and a Prince who breaks thro those Laws and Trusts does certainly overturn the Government when he pulls up its Foundations: And how a Man can govern when there is no Government, pray good *Sacheverell* tell your Friend *Henry*. He is mightily afraid that you will be miserably put to it to untie this Gordian Knot, because you say, p. 8. of that same worthy Piece; 'What can we think of the greatest Conquest imaginable, carry'd on and accomplish'd by Vice and Error, by Fury and Violence? Are such Governments worth the Wish of wise and good Men; or do they indeed deserve the Name and Character of Government? Certainly Murder, Rapine, and Hostility were the best Titles they cou'd claim.' 'Tis in vain for you to think to put off your Friend *Henry* with your usual Quibble, that here you speak of foreign Conquerors, but not of domestick Princes; because you told him before, that all Government is founded on Society, and Society upon Laws and Trusts: which is so far from helping out your domestick Tyrant, that it aggravates his Crime, makes him a *Felo de se*, because he subverts his own Government, and a Breaker of his Trust and Laws; so that he becomes a more unnatural Monster by committing Murders, Rapines, and Hostilities upon his own People, than a foreign Conqueror can be, since he is under no such Obligation of Law and Trust. Upon all which *Henry* concludes against *Sacheverell*, that he is neither a wise nor a good Man to wish for or defend such a Government, or to give that sacred Title to a Prince who is guilty

of Rapine, Murder, and Hostility against his own Subjects and the rather, because *Sacheverell* says, p. 14. ' If we remark ' the Conclusion of these Tyrannical Governments in all Ages ' of the World, we shall find they paid dearly for their Success ' in the end: ' and that he is guilty of speaking disrespectfully of Crown'd Heads, and expressly condemns the *Roman* Tyrants, to whose Tyranny he wou'd needs have *St. Paul* to condemn all Resistance, as ' a Race of degenerate, unwarlike, vicious Princes, that more speedily and effectually undermin'd that which ' all the Malice, Wit and Power of their Enemys had never ' been able to molest.' *Henry* would ask *Sacheverell* whether it had not been better for the *Romans* to have resisted that which according to his own Concession does not deserve the name of Government, than have suffer'd their State to be destroy'd by it: and since *Nero* was not only sentenc'd to Dethronement, but to Death by the *Roman* Senate, at a time when the Apostle *St. John* was alive at least; how comes it to pass, that we have nothing in the New Testament to condemn that Practice, and forbidding the *Roman* Christians to rejoice, as the rest of the Citizens did, when they were rid of that Monster? Certainly had resisting of Tyrants by those who had power to do it been a damnable Sin, the divinely inspir'd Writers of the New Testament, who foreknew that so great a part of the World would have Christianity establish'd by Law, would somewhere or other have forewarn'd Christians against resisting of Tyrants, that should overturn their Laws and Religion. If they had, *Athanasius*, the Author of one of our Creeds appointed to be read in the Church, wou'd never have approv'd what *Lucifer* of *Cagliari* wrote to *Constantinus* the Emperor who favour'd the *Arians*, viz. ' That he ought to be put to death according ' to *Deut* 13. 6. for enticing the People to serve other Gods; ' and told him that 'twas as lawful to resist him, as 'twas for ' the Jews to resist the Sacrilege of *Antiochus*.'

'Tis equally confident in *Sacheverell* to alledg, that he taught that Doctrine as he learnt it from the Homilys of the Church, and was enjoin'd to teach it by the Articles of our Religion. How often must he and his Faction be told, that those Homilys were design'd against the Papists, who were mere private Persons, and rose in Rebellion against *K. Edward VI.* and *Q. Elizabeth*, who had abolish'd their Religion by Law! But what is this to the Case of resisting Princes who invade our Religion, Lives and Libertys, contrary to Law? The Compilers of our Homilys were so far from thinking this unlawful, that Bishop *Jewel*, one of the chief of them, in the Defence of his Apology for the Church of *England*, justifies *Luther*, *Melancthon*, and other Reformers, for maintaining the Lawfulness of Peoples defending themselves against lawless Oppression, as *Davida* defended himself by arm'd Force against *Saul* who was both his

his King and Father-in-Law ; which is as full to the purpose, as if it had been writ with a view to defend the practice of the late Prince *George of Denmark*, in which his Royal Highness and her present Majesty concur'd with her late Sister and Brother-in-Law of glorious memory. Besides, the Doctor and his Party have been told again and again, that Bishop *Jewel* defended the *French* Protestants for taking up Arms against their tyrannical and persecuting Princes ; and that the whole Clergy in *England* did in several Convocations, wherein those who wrote the Homilys were Members, approve *Q. Elizabeth's* assisting the *French, Scots, and Dutch* Protestants against their oppressive and arbitrary Princes ; and gave her so much Mony to support them in it, as came to a whole Year's Revenue of all the Benefices of *England*. Her Parliaments did also approve it, and assist her with Mony. All which is sufficient to convince any man who will not shut his eyes against demonstration, that the Doctor and his Faction have wickedly slander'd our Homilys and Articles, and those who compos'd them ; and that he is guilty of the greatest Impudence as well as Prevarication, to offer such a Defence to both Houses of Parliament, and especially in presence of the Lords Spiritual, who must certainly know from the Convocation-Books, that those things are true. What the Doctor quotes in his Collection from Bishop *Overhall's* Convocation-Book, will stand him in little stead ; since as he has given it us, it only infers the general Duty of Obedience of Subjects to their Sovereign, but says nothing at all of such a Case as ours at the Revolution. But had he been Master of the least Ingenuity, he wou'd never have urg'd that Passage : since p. 67, 68. they approve what *Mattathias* did in resisting the Tyranny and Cruelty of *Antiochus*, who was then possess'd of the Government of the *Jews* ; and not only so, but approve his freeing them from the *Syrian* Yoke, and settling the Government in his own Family, where it continu'd till the *Roman* Conquest. Yet this Government the Convocation approv'd, and said 'twas unlawful for the *Jews* to rebel against it ; than which nothing cou'd be said more express in defence of the late Revolution : So that we plainly perceive the Doctor and his Party take things by halves, as the Devil the Father of Lyes quotes Scripture. This Opinion of that Convocation was so much the more remarkable, because *K. James I.* desir'd that for the satisfaction of others rather than of himself, they wou'd give him their Opinion that 'twas lawful for him to own the *Hollanders*, who had taken Arms against their Sovereign, and set up another Government ; which he tells them, in his Letter to *Dr. Abbot*, was not scrupled in *Q. Elizabeth's* time. And his Majesty is very angry with that Convocation, for seeming to suggest that even Tyranny when establish'd is *God's Authority* ; because to please him,

as they thought, they wou'd not expressely justify the Revolt of the *Dutch*, nor cou'd they for shame absolutely condemn them: and therefore to trim the matter, said, that even when Subjects have by Rebellion establish'd any degenerate Form of Government, the Authority so unjustly gotten from the true and lawful Possessor being always God's Authority, is ever to be reverenc'd and obey'd. So that here's both the King and Convocation against the Doctor: They approve the Revolt of the *Jews* under the Conduct of *Mattathias* from *Antiochus* the *Syrian*; and the King says, that it makes God the Author of Sin, to call Tyranny his Authority. By which, according to the King, resisting of a Tyrant is not resisting the Ordinance of God: which is a much better Commentary on the 13th of the *Romans*, than the Doctor and his Party have ever yet given us; and being from the mouth of the learnedest Prince that ever sat on the *English* Throne, and also the Head of the Church, is more to be regarded than that of all the particular Doctors that *Sacheverell* has cram'd into his Collection: especially if we consider that *K. James* was fond enough of Prerogative, and wou'd not have spoke so against his own Interest, had it not been from the Conviction of his Conscience. And that he did not speak thus at random, or in a heat, but that 'twas his fixt Judgment, is plain from his Speech in Parliament, *March 21. 1609.* where he says, ' The King is bound
' by a double Oath to preserve the Laws, tacitly as being
' King, and expressely by his Coronation-Oath; so is every just
' King bound to observe the Paction made with his People by
' his Laws, framing the Government thereunto: and the King
' leaves to be King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, as soon
' as he leaves off to govern by Law; in which case the King's
' Conscience may speak to him as the poor Woman did to
' *Philip of Macedon*, *Either govern according to Law, or cease to be*
' *King.*' Which is far from *Sacheverell's* slavish Doctrine of unconditional Obedience. He may also be pleas'd to know, that the Bishops in Parliament in *Q. Elizabeth's* time approv'd the Dethronement of *Q. Mary* by the *Scots*, objected it to her Plea, That being a Sovereign and Independent Princess, she was not subject to *Q. Elizabeth's* Jurisdiction; and press'd the Queen to take her Life as *Constantine* did that of his Fellow-Emperor *Licinius*, because he was an Enemy to the Empire and Christian Religion. They knew well enough that *Mary Q. of Scots* was next Heiress to the Crown of *England*, but that was no bar to their Judgment. They answer'd all Objections thus: ' If our
' Danger be join'd with the Danger of our gracious Sovereign
' and native Country, we see not how we can be accounted
' Godly Bishops or Faithful Subjects, if in common peril we
' should not cry out and give warning; or on the other hand,
' how can they be thought to have true Hearts towards God,
' and

‘ and towards their Country, that will dislike our so doing, ‘ and seek to discredit us.’ And that this was the Opinion of our first Reformers, is evident from the first and second of *Philip and Mary*, Cap. 9. which made it Treason in any one to pray that God would shorten the Queen’s days, or to take her out of the way, because the Protestants did then pray in their private Meetings that God would turn her Heart from Idolatry to the true Faith, or shorten Her Days. ’Twere easy to add the Opinions of Bishop *Bilson*, Archbishop *Abbott*, Dr. *Hooker*, and other great Divines of the Church of *England*, sufficient to ballance *Sacheverell*’s private Authorities; but ’tis not worth while, since we have the Judgment of the Church of *England* in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* against him: besides, he ought to remember that when Archbishop *Sanicroft*, and the rest of the Bishops in the Reign of the late King *James*, were solicited by him to declare their abhorrence of the Prince of *Orange*’s Descent, they were so far from it, that the Archbishop and eight other Bishops waited upon the King with Proposals for redressing the Grievances of the Nation, and advising him to return to the Communion of the Church of *England*; and afterwards the Archbishop, with six other Bishops, and several Temporal Lords, presented a Petition to the King for calling a Parliament for redressing of Grievances, and preventing the Miseries of a War which was breaking forth in the Bowels of the Kingdom. Upon which a Court Paper of Reflections was then publish’d, comparing their Petition and Proposals to the Remonstrances in 1641. By all this the Doctor is convicted of the highest degree of Impudence, to assert that his Doctrine is that of the Church of *England*, and that there was no Resistance design’d in the late Revolution, when the Declarations on both sides manifest the contrary, and when nineteen Bishops and Lords tell the King in their Petition that a War was breaking out in the Kingdom: which had been the greatest Nonsense in Nature if the Prince and those who join’d him had disclaim’d all Imputation of Resistance. It must certainly be a desperate Cause that requires such notorious Falshoods to support it, and such a Champion to defend it.

This Man must have his Conscience fear’d to a terrible degree, when he defends that against which he is sworn, and condemns that in his Sermons, which he thanks God for in his Prayers, particularly in the Office for the fifth of *November*, when the Church praises God for the Resistance that was made by his late Majesty King *William* against Popish Tyranny and Arbitrary Power, from which he deliver’d us, and for making all opposition fall before him till he became our King and Governor; which not only defends Resistance, but the Dethronement of Tyrants: yet this Man has the boldness to alledge the Authority

thority of the Church against Her own publick Offices ratify'd by Authority, and to thank God for stirring up Men to practise what he alledges he has forbid them on pain of Damnation; which is such a complication of Blasphemy, Treason, and Contradiction, as has scarce a Parallel in any part of the World. This is enough to answer all the Passages of particular Divines, which the Doctor has inserted in his Collection for his Justification, allowing them not to be wrested or mangled, as some of 'em certainly are, and others relate only to the general Obedience due by private Subjects to their Sovereigns, without being applicable to such a Case as the Revolution, when the overturning of our Constitution was resented by the whole Nation.

The Doctor alledges that several Sermons of the same tendency with his have been preach'd before the Houses, and that 'tis his singular misfortune to be Accus'd for what others have receiv'd Thanks. This is only another Instance of his want of Modesty, to charge the Houses with contradicting themselves; but the weakness of the Slander is easily perceiv'd. There were never yet any Sermons in *England* so fill'd with Malice, Sedition and Railing as his: besides, no man of Sense can suppose the Houses wou'd be guilty of so much Inconsistency as to thank any body for preaching Sermons that blacken'd the Revolution; that tended to subvert Her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Succession; that contradicted and arraign'd their own Resolves; that created Jealousies and Divisions among Her Majesty's Subjects, and incited them to Sedition and Rebellion, as 'tis evident his have actually done.

The Doctor gives us another taste of his hateful Prevarication in the close of the fourteenth Paragraph, as if the Condemnation of him, on the account of his Doctrine, might tend to dissolve the Union of the two Kingdoms. To prove his notorious Hypocrisy in this Point, we need only to cast our Eye upon his *Political Union*, where he gives such Characters of the Presbyterians, as any man may see 'twas design'd to defeat the Treaty of Union then on foot, for which we refer to P. 20. towards the close, and P. 21, 22, 23.

SPEECH, Paragraph XV. to XXX.

My Lords, *Upon the Second Article, I would humbly pray Your Lordships to consider, that I have no where in My Sermon shewn any the least Dislike of the Indulgence Granted by Law to Dissenters; that, on the contrary, I have declar'd My Approbation of it in the most express Terms imaginable, which I beg leave once more to repeat to Your Lordships out of My Sermon preach'd at St. Paul's. I would not (I there say) be Misunderstood, as if I intended to cast the least Invidious Reflection upon That Indulgence, which the Government hath Condescended to give them; which I am*
sure,

sure, all Those, who Wish well to Our Church, are ready to Grant to Consciences truly scrupulous; let them Enjoy it in the full Limits the Law hath Prescrib'd.

My Lords, This then was, and still is My sincere Opinion, nor am I conscious that I have uttered one Word Inconsistent with it. I have indeed Blam'd, and perhaps with some Warmth and Earnestness Blam'd, the Abuses, which Men of no Conscience have made, of the Legal Exemption, granted to Consciences truly scrupulous: nor could I think that those Reprehensions of Mine, would have drawn upon Me the Displeasure of any Sincere Christian, which were Levell'd against Hypocrites, Socinians, Deists, and such as, under the Umbrage of That Act, which permits Protestant Dissenters, and those Only, to serve God, every Man in his Own way, think themselves at Liberty to be of no Protestant Congregation, of no Religion at all. I will farther ingenuously Own to Your Lordships, that I had in my Eye some Abuses made of That Act by the Dissenters themselves; who, I am told, do (both Pastors, and People) rarely Observe the Qualifications prescrib'd by That Act; and who Erect Seminaries for Educating Youth in Principles opposite to the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of Our Church: whereas That Act was intended for the Ease of Those, whose Minds through the Unhappy Prejudices of Education, were already Estranged from the Church; not, as I humbly conceive, to Indulge Men in taking the most effectual Methods to Propagate, and Perpetuate Their Schism.

My Lords, Of any Favours to Dissenters Granted, or Intended by the Law, I have no where Complain'd; of Toleration, a word unknown to Our Laws, and Implying, as I am inform'd, much more than Our Law-Givers Design'd, if I have said any thing Offensive, I may, I hope, reasonably presume, that it will not be Judg'd by Your Lordships in any wise to Reflect on That Act of Exemption, which I have spoken of in Terms, no ways, I think, Misbecoming a Good Subject, or Betraying any want of Christian Moderation. Nor is there, My Lords, any want of it, I conceive, in Affirming that this Act, which Relieves some Dissenters from Legal Punishments, to which they were before Obnoxious, hath not any ways Alter'd the Nature of Schism, or Extinguish'd the Obligations to Church-Communion; which is an Evangelical Duty, incumbent on All Christians, by the Rules of the Gospel, Antecedent to all Secular Laws, and can by no Human Power be Dispens'd with. If the Church of England, My Lords, imposes no Unlawful Terms of Communion, as She certainly does not, then All Separatists from Her Communion, will, notwithstanding the Indulgence, continue to be Guilty of Schism; The Consequence of which Guilt may still rest upon their Souls, however it may cease to Affect their Bodies, or Estates. For as no Human Law can render That Lawful which God hath Forbidden, so neither can it make That Void, which God hath Commanded.

My Lords, I am Accus'd, under this Head, of Maintaining, that it is the Duty of Superior Pastors to Thunder out their Eccle-

siastical

fiastical Anathema's against Persons Intitul'd to the Benefit of the Toleration; I hope, it hath evidently appear'd to Your Lordships, that I advance no such Position. Sure I am, that my Words do not in themselves carry such a Meaning, nor does the Connexion of My Discourse require That Sense, or easily admit it. Schismaticks, My Lords, are not the Only Persons, against whom Ecclesiastical Censures may be Denounced; the Works of Darkness, which I refer'd to, as fit to be Reprov'd, in that Part of my Sermon, where I speak of These Censures, are of the same kind with Those mention'd by the Apostle, whose Words I produc'd, All Lewd and Immoral Practices; Against these, My Lords, and against Heresies, and Blasphemies, (a Black Catalogue of which has been Display'd before Your Lordships) I thought the Anathema's of the Church would be well employ'd; such Anathema's, I doubt not, My Lords, would be ratify'd in Heaven, and would, therefore by any Power on Earth, be Irreversible.

As to Archbishop Grindal, tho' I may seem to have us'd some undue Asperity of Expression concerning him, yet I charg'd him with nothing but what I had good Grounds for, from Our Historians: It hath been made appear to Your Lordships, that on the Account of His Remissness in Church-Government, He liv'd and dy'd under the High Displeasure of Queen Elizabeth; and whether therefore He, or That Glorious Queen, shall bear the Blame of his Disgrace and Sufferings, is with all Humility submitted to Your Lordships.

I hope, My Lords, I stand Clear in Your Opinions, of the Charge advanc'd against Me, in the Two First Articles; and as My own Conscience Acquits, so I trust Your Lordships will Acquit Me of whatever is laid to My Charge in the Third.

My Lords, I neither have Suggested, nor do in my Conscience Believe, that the Church is in the least Peril or Adversity from Her Majesty's Administration. So far am I from any such Thoughts, that I am entirely satisfy'd of Her being a most Affectionate Nursing Mother to it. But I hope I may say without Offence, that the Church may be in Peril from Other Causes, without any Reflection upon Her Majesties Government, or any Contradiction to Her Royal Proclamation, and the Resolution of Both Houses of Parliament, Four Years ago. If the Church be in Danger, when the Christian Religion is evidently so, I hope it will be thought no Crime to say, it has scarce ever been in Greater Danger than it is now, since Christ had a Church upon Earth. For besides That Deluge of Prophaneness and Immorality, which overspreads the Whole Kingdom; besides the Variety, and Growing Strength of Those Schisms which Weaken and Divide us, and of those Heterodox Opinions, and Damnable Heresies, which are daily Published and Propagated among us; I verily Believe, that never were the Ministers of Christ so Abus'd and Viliify'd, never was the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures so Arraign'd and Ridicul'd, never were Infidelity, and Atheism in self so Impudent, and Barefac'd, never were such horrid Blasphemies Printed in Any Christian State, from the Foundation of Christianity to this Day.

Out

Out of the many Instances of this Kind, which, being ready at hand, I could have Produc'd to Your Lordships, I have Selected a Few only; but Those such, as I am perswaded Your Lordships could not hear without Horror and Astonishment. Pardon me, My Lords, if My Apprehension of the sad Consequences We may expect from such Crying Abominations, have forc'd from me some Expressions, which upon a Less Occasion might seem too harsh, and vehement, A Man that Dreads no Danger from such Unparallel'd Iniquities, that do as it were call down God's severest Judgments upon That Poor Church, and Nation, wherein they are Openly and Daringly Committed, must be Dead in his Love for his Country, and Religion. If I have Disclos'd such a Frightful, and Detestable Scene of Impiety, which by reason of Your Lordships High Stations, and Great Employments, might possibly lie Undiscover'd to Your Sight before; I shall think My self Happy, whatever shall besal Me, if I may by God's Grace become the Mean Instrument of putting a stop to That Overflowing of Ungodliness, and Blasphemy, which as yet no Laws, no Proclamations, how well soever Delign'd, and how often soever Repeated, have been Able to Restrain.

Nor ought I, My Lords, to Forget, tho it was Forgotten by the Honourable Managers, Another Ground of Danger arising to This Church from the Attempts of Popish Emissaries, by Me mention'd, I hope without the Least Offence, in My Sermon at St. Paul's, where I say, It were highly to be wish'd that Those Excellent Laws, made for the Defence and Security of the Church, were at present put strictly in Execution; for the Roman Catholick Agents, and Missionaries, that swarm about this Great City, as it were in Defiance and Contempt of Them, were never more Busie in making Profelytes to their Superstition and Idolatry, and Perverting and Debauching Her Majesty's Subjects in every Corner of Our Streets. I have not, My Lords, been called upon to Prove the Truth of This Passage, nor has it been Reckon'd among the False Insinuations I have made that the Church is in Danger. I pray God, the Church may be in no Danger, upon any of These Accounts! Her Majesty, Your Lordships, and the Commons, have indeed provided against these Dangers by Wholesome Laws; and I hope, I did not Exceed the Limits of my Function, when, being call'd to Preach before Magistrates, I exhorted Them to Prevent these Dangers, by putting those Laws strictly in Execution.

Just had been the Indignation of the Honourable House of Commons, Just would be Your Lordships most severe Resentments, if by any Parallel by me drawn, I had Insinuated that the Members of Both Houses, who Pass'd the Vote concerning the safe and Flourishing Condition of the Church, had been then conspiring its Ruin. I have already Purg'd My self from This imputation, by Observing, that the Parallel, ascrib'd to Me, implies, that They who Voted King Charles the First to be out of Danger, and those who Conspir'd his Death, were the very same Persons,

whereas it is certain they were not; for, my Lords, the Vote about the King's Safety was pass'd by Lords and Commons a year and half before his execrable Murder, which had been contriv'd by the Army, and was perpetrated by a pretended Ordinance of a small Remnant of the House of Commons (not a tenth part of the whole) after the rest of the Members had been imprison'd, or seclused, and without the Concurrence of the House of Peers, who totally rejected it. You have had, my Lords, a very different Representation of this Fact made by one of the learned Managers: but this, my Lords, is the real Truth, as recited in the Act of Parliament for the Attainder of the King's Murderers; and is an Evidence, that I could not possibly mean by any odious Parallel to insinuate, that the Members of both Houses, who pass'd the Vote concerning the Safety of the Church, were then conspiring its Ruin.

I humbly crave Your Lordships Patience yet a little farther, whilst I speak to what is alledg'd in the Fourth Article, which charges me with many Crimes of a very high and flagrant Nature; none of which have been endeavour'd to be prov'd upon me, otherwise than from suppos'd Suggestions, and undetermin'd Expressions: and I must still, with Your Lordships leave, humbly insist upon it, that where the Expressions are doubtful, there the favourable Sense is always to be prefer'd.

After all that has been said by the learned Managers for the Commons, what Minister of State, I beseech Your Lordships, have I been prov'd to reflect upon, directly or indirectly? Where, and How do I, by any Suggestion, charge Her Majesty, or those in Authority under Her, with a general Male-administration? How do I persuade Her Subjects to keep up a Distinction of Parties, and Factions, while I reprove those who divide us by knavish Distinctions, and while I persuade my Fellow-Subjects to lose and forget them? How is it possible, I should stir up the People to Arms and Violence, when I am endeavouring to convince them of the utter Illegality of Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever? These things, my Lords, seem to be inconsistent; unless a Man may be thought a Rebel for recommending Loyalty, or seditious for preaching against Sedition.

I remember, indeed, at the opening of this Charge against me, that one of the Managers for the House of Commons vouchsaf'd to offer his charitable Assistance towards reconciling this seeming Inconsistency; for he was pleas'd to suppose that, when I spake against resisting the Sovereign, I had not our Gracious Queen, but some other Person in view; and that I might therefore agreeably to my Principles of Non-resistance, stir up the People to Arms and Violence against Her Sacred Majesty. Your Lordships will once more pardon my Earnestness, if I call God to witness, that I utterly detest any such traitorous Intention; and I should in my own Opinion be unworthy of the name of a Christian, if I could give my self
leave

leave to cast such a black, and groundless Imputation upon any one in like Circumstances with mine, who had given all possible Evidences of his Duty and Affection to the present Government. My Lords, I have taken the Oaths of Allegiance to Her Majesty, and that of Abjuration against the Pretender: and when therefore I preach'd the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, it is most apparent, that the Government, which I persuaded my Fellow-Subjects not to resist, is the present Government; and I humbly conceive, that the present Government can never be overturn'd, if it be never resisted.

How true a Zeal, and Affection I have always born to Her Majesty's Person and Government, I leave to be judg'd by Your Lordships, and the whole World, from those publick Demonstrations which I have given of it, at all times, when I had occasion to make mention of either. I hope Your Lordships will pardon me, if I refer to some of my own printed Expressions, as an evident Proof of my unfeign'd Duty, and Allegiance. ' If, to call it the most ' inestimable Blessing this Nation could enjoy, that Her Majesty, the ' good and pious Relict of the Royal Family, sits now happily upon the ' Throne of her Ancestors; if to pray, that God may long preserve ' Her for the Comfort and Support of the Church, as the only Security, under God, it has to depend upon; if, earnestly to contend for ' the Safety, Rights, and Establishment of Her Majesty, together ' with those of the Church; if, to vindicate Her Majesty's Title to ' the Crown against the Usurpations, Pretences, and Encroachments ' of Her Adversarys, and to assert Her Right to the Throne to have ' been so clear, manifest, and undoubted, that even Her worst Enemies (could such a pious Princess be suppos'd to have any) ' must acknowledg it; That She was proclaim'd as 'twere by the Voice ' of God, in the Universal Joy, Satisfaction, and Unanimity of Her ' Subjects; that Her personal Merit exempted from That, made ' Her worthy of a brighter Diadem than She wears; if, to persuade ' Her Subjects with the most hearty Zeal, and Generosity, to enter into ' a necessary War, for the Defence of Her Majesty, and the common ' Preservation of our Church, Libertys, and Constitution, against a ' powerful Adversary; if, to beseech God to prosper so good an Undertaking, to give an happy Event and Issue to such a rightful Cause, ' to crown our Arms with Victory, and to make them as successful, as ' they are just, and honourable; and that, in order to this, we are all ' bound, both in Duty to God and our Sovereign, as well as by our ' own Interest, unanimously, and heartily to assist, and support Her ' under this great Undertaking, as far as our Prayers, and Estates, ' Lives, and Fortunes can serve Her; if, to persuade Her Subjects, ' that the great and threatening Dangers of our Enemies, should have ' that just Effect upon us, to unite us, as much in our Resolutions, and ' Affections, as they do in our common Interests, Apprehensions and ' Troubles; if, to set out the Blessings we enjoy in the wise Constitution of our Government and Laws, in the most refin'd Policies of our ' Parliament;

' Parliament, and Ministry, in the Strength and Number of our
 ' Armies, Fleets, and Confederates, in the Care and watchful Vigi-
 ' lance, the Courage, Resolution and Conduct of our General, and a-
 ' bove all in the Piety, and Prudence of our most gracious Queen;
 ' if, to affirm that She daily gives fresh Instances of Her Wisdom, in
 ' the happy Administration of Her Government, and in nothing more
 ' shews Her Policy, and distinguishing Judgment, than in making
 ' choice of such Ministers of State, who are acceptable to their Country,
 ' and express such a Zeal, and Steadiness in its Service, and true In-
 ' terests, and whom nothing could bribe, or betray into a Party, where-
 ' in it might any ways seem to be endanger'd; if, with the most ar-
 ' dent Requests to implore God's Providence, which thro so many Dan-
 ' gers and Difficultys has rais'd up, and preserv'd Her Majesty, to
 ' carry on these glorious Undertakings with Success, that She may be
 ' able to restore and settle the Peace of Europe, in its just Rights
 ' and Limitations; and that, as God has bestow'd a Crown upon Her
 ' in this World, as the Reward of these heroic and pious Designs, so,
 ' after a long Reign here, he would advance Her to an higher Throne
 ' in Heaven, and dignify Her with a glorious and immortal Crown
 ' hereafter: If this, my Lords, I say, is falsely and maliciously
 to suggest, that Her Majesty's Administration both in Ecclesiasti-
 cal, and Civil Affairs, tends to the Destruction of the Consti-
 tution; if this be charging Her Majesty, and those in Authority
 under Her, both in Church, and State, with a general Male-
 administration; if this be, as an Incendiary, to persuade Her
 Subjects to keep up Distinctions of Factions and Parties; if
 this be instilling groundless Jealousies, fomenting destructive
 Divisions, and stirring up Her Majesty's Subjects to Arms and
 Violence, against any but Her Enemies; then, my Lords, I am
 guilty of this Article of Impeachment; otherwise, I am innocent.

My Lords, I have always thought it my Duty, upon all publick
 Occasions, to assert these Principles of Loyalty and Subjection to
 the Supreme Power, whenever I had a proper Call so to do; of this
 there are numberless Witnesses in those several Places to which I
 have belong'd. One of these I beg leave of Your Lordships particu-
 larly to mention, Magdalen-College in Oxford, whereof I am at
 present an unworthy Member; and which by the known Sufferings of
 the whole Body for the Church, and Constitution, contributed as
 much towards the late happy Revolution, as any Society in the
 Kingdom. To which honourable Society I humbly appeal for my
 Character, and Behaviour. I could also appeal for the same to a
 Right Reverend Lord, that now sits on the Bench of Bishops.

Had it been fit to have troubled Your Lordships with Evidences
 of my hearty Affection to the present Government, I could have
 produc'd them in great abundance, from the Persons with whom I
 have convers'd, from the Gentlemen whom I have bred up, and
 from the Congregations to which I have preach'd. If my Prin-
 ciples had any tendency towards alienating the Affections of Her
 Majesty's

Majesty's Subjects, surely some one Instance of my Disloyalty to the Queen, some favourable Expressions towards the Pretender, some Indications of my Dislike to the present Settlement, and the Protestant Succession, might have been pitch'd upon, and expos'd to Your Lordships, in order to justify the Charge of Sedition against me. But I cannot, but with pleasure, observe to Your Lordships, that from the whole Course of my Actions, no one Instance of that kind is alledg'd, or so much as pretended.

R E F L E C T I O N S.

The best Answer to these Paragraphs, as well as the most irrefragable Proof of the Doctor's Falshood and Perjury, will be his own words.

In the Dedication of his *St. Paul's* Sermon, he says, 'The Fanaticks would do well to strike that dangerous Precept, meaning the Fifth Commandment, 'out of the Decalogue, as the Papists have the second, that neither might arise in Judgment against these united Friends and Brethren.' But it happen'd very unluckily for the Doctor, that the Union, Friendship and Brotherhood appear'd to be betwixt his own Faction and the Papists and Jacobites, when they rose in Rebellion together, to pull down and burn the Meeting and Dwelling-Houses of those he calls Fanaticks. *Pag. 2.* of his Sermon he says, 'The Fifth of November is a Day, which ought to stand for ever in the *English* Calendar, as an eternal *Era* at the one end, as the Thirtieth of *January* at the other, for indelible Monuments of the irreconcilable Rage, and Blood-thirstiness of both the Popish and Fanatick Enemies of our Church and Government! For these are equally such treacherous *false Brethren*, from whom we must always expect the utmost Perils, and against whom we can never sufficiently arm our selves with the greatest Caution and Security. These two Days indeed, are but one united Proof, and visible Testimonial of the same dangerous and rebellious Principles, these Confederates in Iniquity maintain. And as the one is but a Thanksgiving for our Deliverance from what the first projected; so is the other an Humiliation, for what God permitted the latter, by their Help and Direction, to put in execution. I think therefore the best way of acknowledging these great Mercies, and Judgments of God, and acquitting both Solemnities in a proper way, is by so justly considering our Circumstances with respect to each side, as to guard against their malicious, and factious Designs for the future; that we may never trust either, to need a second Deliverance from those villainous Enterprizes, they will never cease to put in Practice, whenever they see an Opportunity of doing it with Security.'

Page 3. he says, 'That *St. Paul* had, with much Pains and Expence, planted Christianity in *Corinth*, where he had no
 & sooner

‘ sooner by a miraculous Ministry establish’d it, but several
 ‘ false Apostles, and Seducers, were in his Absence crept in-
 ‘ to the Church, to vitiate and corrupt his new Proselytes,
 ‘ under pretence of more Purity, and Holiness (like our mo-
 ‘ dern Sectarists) to raise a Schism amongst them.’

Page 5. He says, ‘ ’Twere very obvious to draw a Parallel
 ‘ here, betwixt the sad Circumstances of the Church of Co-
 ‘ rinth formerly, and of the Church of England at present;
 ‘ wherein her Holy Communion has been rent, and divided
 ‘ by factious, and schismatical Impostors; her pure Doc-
 ‘ trine has been corrupted, and *depl’d*; her Primitive Wor-
 ‘ ship and Discipline profan’d, and abus’d; her sacred Or-
 ‘ ders deny’d, and vilify’d; her Priests, and Professors (like
 ‘ St. Paul) calumniated, misrepresented, and ridicul’d; her
 ‘ Altars and Sacraments prostituted to Hypocrites, Deists, So-
 ‘ cinians and Atheists; and this done, I wish I could not say,
 ‘ *without Discouragement, I am sure without Impunity*, not only by
 ‘ our profess’d Enemies, but which is worse, by our preten-
 ‘ ded Friends and false Brethren.’

Pag. 8, and 9. he says, ‘ Should any Man out of Ignorance,
 ‘ or Prejudice to the antient Rights, and essential Constitu-
 ‘ tion of the Catholick Church, affirm, that the Divine Aposto-
 ‘ lical Institution of Episcopacy is a novel Doctrine, not suf-
 ‘ ficiently warranted by Scripture, and that ’tis indifferent
 ‘ whether the Church is govern’d by Bishops or Presbyters;
 ‘ Is not such a one an Apostate from his own Orders?—
 ‘ To take in Schismatical Presbyters without Episcopal Or-
 ‘ dination, would unchurch the very Church, and annihilate
 ‘ her Constitution. Is this the Spirit, and Doctrine of our
 ‘ Holy Mother? To assert Separation from her Communion,
 ‘ to be no Schism; or if it was, that Schism is no damnable
 ‘ Sin; that Occasional Conformity is no Hypocrisy, but ra-
 ‘ ther for the benefit of the Church; that one may be an
 ‘ Occasional Conformist with Schismatics, and yet not guilty
 ‘ of Schism; that a Christian may serve God in any way or
 ‘ Congregation of Worship, as well by extempore Prayers, as
 ‘ by prescrib’d Form, and Liturgy;—If upon all occasions
 ‘ to comply with the Dissenters both in publick and private
 ‘ Affairs, as Persons of tender Conscience, and Piety, to pro-
 ‘ mote their Interests in Elections, to sneak to them for Pla-
 ‘ ces, and Preferment, to defend *Toleration and Liberty of Consci-*
 ‘ *ence*; and under the pretence of *Moderation*, to excuse their Sepa-
 ‘ ration, and lay the fault upon the true Sons of the Church,
 ‘ for carrying Matters too high; if to court the Fanaticks in
 ‘ private, and to hear them with Patience, if not Approba-
 ‘ tion, rail at, and blaspheme the Church, and upon occasion
 ‘ to justify the King’s Murder.’

Pag. 14. He calls the Dissenters ' filthy Dreamers, presumptuous self-will'd Men, Despisers of Dominion and Government, who are not afraid to speak evil of Dignity, who wrest the Word of God to their own and their Peoples Perdition, and think to consecrate even the worst of Sins with what is almost analogous to the Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. These false Brethren in our Government do not singly and in private spread their poison; but what's lamentable to be spoken, are suffer'd to combine into Bodys and Seminars, wherein Atheism, Deism, Tritheism, Socinianism, with all the hellish Principles of Fanaticism, Regicide and Anarchy, are openly profess'd and taught, to corrupt and debauch the Youth of the Nation in all parts of it down to Posterity, to the present Reproach, and future Extirpation of our Laws and Religion. Certainly the *Toleration* was never intended to indulge and cherish such Monsters and Vipers in our bosom, that scatter their Pestilence at noon-day, and will rend, distract and confound the firmest and best-settled Constitution in the world. In short, as the *English* Government can never be secure on any other Principles, but strictly those of the Church of *England*; so I will be bold to say, where any part of it is trusted in Persons of any other Notions, they must be false to themselves if they are true to their Trusts; or if they are true to their Opinions and Interests, must betray that Government they are Enemies to upon Principle. Indeed we must do them the justice to confess, that since the Sectarists have found out a way, which their Forefathers (God knows) as wicked as they were, wou'd have abhor'd, to swallow not only Oaths, but Sacraments, to qualify themselves to get into Places and Preferments; these sanctify'd Hypocrites can put on a shew of Loyalty, and seem tolerably easy in the Government, if they can ingross the Honours and Profits of it: but let her Majesty reach out her little finger to touch their Loins, and these sworn Adversarys to Passive Obedience and the Royal Family, shall fret themselves, and curse their Queen and their God, and shall look upwards.'

Pag. 16. He says, ' 'Tis the Church's hard fortune, that her worst Adversarys must be let into her bowels under the holy umbrage of Sons, who neither believe her Faith, own her Mission, submit to her Discipline, or comply with her Liturgy. And to admit this religious *Trojan Horse* big with Arms and Ruin into our holy City, the strait Gate must be laid quite open, her Walls and Inclosures pull'd down, and a high Road made in upon her Communion; and this pure Spouse of Christ prostituted to more Adulterers than the scarlet Whore in the *Revelation*.'

Pag. 17. ' Now let us, I beseech you in the name of God, fairly consider what must be the Consequence of this scandalous

• lous Fluctuation and Trimming betwixt the Church and Dis-
 • senters, both in Conscience and Prudence.—Are we to
 • take its Constitution as our Saviour and his Apostles deliver'd
 • it down to us; or have we Authority to curtail, mangle or
 • alter it, to suit it to the Pride, Humours, Caprice, and
 • qualm-sick Stomachs of obstinate, moody, wayward, and self-
 • conceited Hypocrites and Enthusiasts?

Pag. 18. ' It cannot be deny'd, that tho they do submit to
 • the Government, their Obedience is forc'd and constrain'd;
 • and therefore so treacherous and uncertain, as never to be
 • trusted, because proceeding upon no Principle but mere In-
 • terest and Ambition: and whenever that changes, their
 • Allegiance must follow it. And therefore to use their own
 • Expression, are as much Occasional Loyalists to the State, as
 • they are Occasional Conformists to the Church; *i.e.* They
 • will betray either whenever 'tis in their power, and they
 • think it for their advantage.—Certainly nothing but the
 • most sottish Infatuation can so far blind both our Eyes and
 • our Judgments, as to make us believe that the same Latitudi-
 • narian and Republican Notions should not bring forth the
 • same rebellious and pernicious Consequences. They are
 • pleas'd now to soften their leud Principles, and cover their
 • dangerous Tenets with the name of speculative Opinions;
 • but what fatal Practices they have created, and p. 19. whe-
 • ther these seditious Thoughts will not again exemplify them-
 • selves in the same bloody Actions, we shall be convinc'd to
 • our sorrow, if we don't apprehend. That the old Leaven of
 • their Forefathers is still working in their present Generation,
 • and that this traditional Poison still remains in this Brood of
 • Vipers, to sting us to death; is sufficiently visible from the
 • dangerous Encroachments they now make upon our Govern-
 • ment, and the treasonable Reflections they have publish'd on
 • her Majesty, God bless her! whose Hereditary Right to the
 • Throne they have had the impudence to deny and cancel, to
 • make her a Creature of their own Power; and that by the
 • same Principles they plac'd a Crown upon her, they tell us,
 • they (that is, the Mob) may re-assume it at their pleasure.
 • Nay, now they have advanc'd themselves from the *Religious*
 • *Liberty* our gracious Sovereign has *indulg'd them, to claim a*
 • *Civil Right*, as they term it, and to juggle the Church out of
 • her Establishment, by hoisting *their Toleration into its place*:
 • And to convince us what alone will satisfy 'em, insolently
 • demand the Repeal of the Corporation and Test-Acts, as an
 • Ecclesiastical Usurpation; which indeed under her Majesty
 • (whom God long preserve for its Comfort and Support!) is
 • the only Security the Church has to depend upon. And
 • which they have so far eluded by their abominable Hypo-
 • crisy, as to have undermin'd her Foundations, and endanger

• the

the Government, by filling it with its profess'd Enemies. These Charges are so flagrant and undeniable, that a man must be very weak or something worse, that thinks or pretends the Dissenters are to be gain'd, or won over by any other Grants and Indulgences than giving up our whole Constitution: And he that recedes the least tittle from it, to satisfy or ingratiate with these clamorous, insatiable, and Church-devouring Malignants, knows not what spirit they are of, or he ought to shew who is a true Member of our Church. Have they not ever since their first unhappy Plantation in this Kingdom, by the Intercession of that false Son of the Church, Bishop Grindall, always improv'd, and rise in their Demands on the Permission of the Government? In-
 somuch that Q. Elizabeth, that was deluded by that perfidious Prelate to the Toleration of the Genevian Discipline, found it such a headstrong and encroaching Monster, that in eight years she foresaw it would endanger the Monarchy, as well as the Hierarchy: and like a Queen of true Resolution, and pious Zeal for both, pronounc'd, That such were the restless Spirits of that factious People, that no quiet was to be expected from them, till they were utterly suppress'd; which, p. 20. like a prudent Princess she did by wholesom Severitys, that the Crown for many years sat easy and flourishing on her head. And had her Successor K. James but follow'd her wise Politicks, his Son had never fallen a Martyr to their Fury, nor any of his unhappy Offspring suffer'd those disastrous Calamitys, which made the Royal Family one continu'd Sacrifice to their Malice. And what better could have been expected from Miscreants, begot in Rebellion, born in Sedition, and nurs'd up in Faction?—But let them also move within their proper Sphere, and not grow eccentrick, and like Comets that burst their Orb, threaten the Ruin and Down-fall of our Church and State. Indeed they tell us they have relinquish'd the Principles, as well as the Sins of their Forefathers: if so, why do they not renounce their Schism, and come sincerely into our Church? Why do they pelt her with more blasphemous Libels and scurrilous Lampoons, than were ever publish'd in Oliver's Usurpation? Have they not lately villanously divided us with knavish Distinctions of High and Low-Churchmen? Are not the best Characters they can give us, those of Papists, Jacobites, and Conspirators? And what do they mean by all this insidious Cant, but by false Insinuations, and railing groundless Jealousys and Fears, to imbroider the Publick, and to bring it into that Confusion they are suggesting upon us? Whether these Men are not contriving, and plotting our utter Ruin, and whether all those false Brethren, that fall in with these Measures and Designs, do not contribute basely to it; I leave every impartial

Man that wishes the Welfare of our Constitution to determine. And if we find this true in fact, what reason have we to think, but that the National Sins are ripen'd up to a full maturity, to call down Vengeance from Providence on a Church and Kingdom, thus debauch'd in its Principles, and corrupted in its Manners; and instead of the true Faith, Discipline, and Worship, given over to all Licentiousness both in Opinion and Practice, to all Sensuality, Hypocrisy, Leudness and Atheism? And now are we **UNDER NO DANGER** in these deplorable Circumstances? Must we lull our selves under this sad Repose, and in such a stupid lethargick Security, embrace our Ruin?—

Page. 21. ' These False Brethren will renounce their Creed, and read the Decalogue backward; are the very Reverse of our Blessed Saviour (whom like their primitive Pattern, they first sell, and then betray) fall down and worship the very Devil himself, for the Riches and Honours of this World.

' 2. Secondly, in regard to the World. What a vast Scandal and Offence must it give to all Persons of Piety and Integrity, to **SEE MEN OF CHARACTER AND STATIONS** thus shift and prevaricate with their Principles, and starting from their Religion upon any occasion of Difficulty or Trial; and like the Disciples, flying from and forsaking our Saviour, when his Life lay at stake?—

Page. 25. ' Let us therefore, as we are unhappily Sharers of St. Paul's misfortune, to have *our Church in Perils* among false Brethren, follow his Example and Conduct in a parallel Case. He tells us in his Epistle to the *Galatians*, c. 2. That he was obstructed, and pester'd in his preaching the Gospel by false Brethren, *unawares brought in, who came privily to spy out his Liberty, which he had in Christ Jesus, that they might bring him into bondage. To whom he gave place by Subjection, no not for an hour, that the Truth of the Gospel might continue with the Church.* Doubtless this brave and bold Resolution did the Apostle take by the peculiar Command and Inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and yet if our **DISSENTERS** had liv'd in those Times, they would have branded him as an intemperate, hot, furious Zealot, that wanted to be sweeten'd by the gentle Spirit of Charity and Moderation, forsooth! Schism and Faction are things of impudent and encroaching natures; they thrive upon Concessions, take Permission for Power, and *advance a Toleration immediately into an Establishment*: and are therefore to be treated like growing Mischiefs or infectious Plagues, kept at a distance, lest their deadly Contagion spread. Let us therefore have no Fellowship with these Works of Darknes, but rather reprove them. Let our Superior Pastors do their Duty, in thundering out their Ecclesiastical Anathema's; and let any

any Power on Earth dare reverse a Sentence ratify'd in Heaven. Let them discountenance all these seditious, lukewarm, almost Christians, and promote Men of Probity, Conscience, and Courage.

In his *Political Union*, p. 20. he says, 'Presbytery and Republicanism go hand in hand; they are but the same disorderly levelling Principles in the two different Branches of our State, equally implacable Enemys to Monarchy and Episcopacy: and if the Government do not severely find this Truth in their Indulgence, 'tis not beholding to their Tenets.—P. 21. Yet this Church—must open her injur'd Arms to receive this sly and insidious Viper into her bosom, her sacred Inclosures must be laid open, and the Hedg of her Vineyard pluck'd up, that this Boar out of the Wood might waste it, and the Beasts of the Field devour it; her Partition-Wall that defended her so long must be broken down, and the Veil of her Temple rent in twain, to make way for that Adversary to enter, whom no Reason ever yet could convince, no Kindness ever yet could win, no Condescension ever yet could oblige. Now when such a Design is carrying on, 'tis high time for the Government to look about it self, to see where matters will end, when its Foundation is thus visibly struck at.—P. 22. So that what may bring in the same damnable and rebellious Principle, viz. precarious Conditions of Allegiance to the true and lawful Sovereign (as he expresses it, p. 21.) overturns our Libertys and Laws, undermines the very bottom of our Government—And whether this treasonable Tenet be not the profess'd Opinion and Design of the Dissenting Party, let their notorious Practices, the truest Comment upon and Interpreter of their Principles, decide in the Judgment of all Mankind—As they were at first the bastard Spawn of the Papists, so they have ever since been the Instruments of their Malice, the Propagaters of their Schism and false Doctrine, and the Panders of that cursed Train of Mischief that was originally hatch'd in a Conclave, and afterwards brought forth and nurs'd up in a Conventicle.—They are not therefore to be look'd upon as a Religious Sect, whose Design only is a particular Way of Worship; but as a Political Faction in our State, as a Combination against our Settlement: not only uneasy under its Laws, and unwilling to pay Obedience to them; but affronting its Authority, denying its legal Power, endeavouring to supplant its Jurisdiction, and to wrest the Reins of Dominion out of our Rulers hands.—Indulgence is the least of their Designs, whatever specious colour they may cast upon them; and the sanctify'd Pretence of Conscience is only an artificial and solemn Disguise to impose upon the Credulity of the Nation, which shall much sooner feel than understand the meaning of that Incomprehensible Term.—P. 23. And 'tis as unaccountable and

' amazing a Contradiction to our Reason, as the greatest
 ' Scandal and Reproach upon our Church, that any pre-
 ' tending to that sacred and inviolable Character of being
 ' her true Sons, Pillars, and Defenders, should turn such Apostates
 ' and Renegadoes to their Oaths and Professions, such false Trai-
 ' tors to their Trusts and Offices, as to strike sail with a Party that is
 ' such an open and avow'd Enemy to our Communion; and against
 ' whom every Man that wishes it well ought to HANG
 ' OUT THE BLOODY FLAG AND BANNER
 ' OF DEFIANCE. — P. 24. In short, if their Num-
 ' ber and Quality are so great, that the Government must en-
 ' dure them, how highly does it concern it to carry a very
 ' watchful Eye and strict Guard upon these domestick Enemys, in
 ' whom it can never repose the least Confidence or Dependence, but at its
 ' injury and peril? — And it will be found an infallible Truth,
 ' that Fanaticism is as utterly irreconcilable and inconsistent
 ' as Popery it self, with our establish'd Constitution and Mo-
 ' narchy.

Affize-Sermon at Oxon, March 9. 1703. p. 32. — ' Men that
 ' have the confidence to own the stated Principle of their
 ' Communion an open and avow'd Hypocrisy. A Principle
 ' that ought to qualify its Professors for a Goal instead of a
 ' Church, bring them to the Scaffold instead of the Altar, or advance
 ' them to Haman's Punishment instead of his Preferments. — P. 31.
 ' Fanaticism is nothing else but a most full and comprehensive
 ' Combination of all wayward and diabolical Prejudices in one.
 ' P. 33. Are these then the Persons to be caress'd? Are these
 ' the Wolves in sheeps cloathing, that are to be invited and com-
 ' plemented even by our SUPERIOR PASTORS into
 ' Christ's Fold, to worry and devour it? P. 35. They sooth the
 ' Dissenters in their Sins, and justify their damnable Schism. What
 ' have such Men to do with Peace and Christian Union? — And as for
 ' Persecution of tender Consciences, must the Church's asserting her own
 ' Legal Rights and Privileges be call'd so? P. 54. Those publick
 ' Causes of Prejudice which affect the Body Politick, and
 ' strike at the National Interest and Safety, call for the Assis-
 ' tance of the Magistrate, and the Power and Execution of
 ' the Law. — Among which we may single out those illegal
 ' Seminarys — in several parts of this Kingdom, as 'twere
 ' so many schismatical Universities — for the Education of
 ' Youth in all the poisonous Principles of Fanaticism and Fac-
 ' tion. — Is it not therefore high time for the Law to take
 ' cognizance of such a growing Mischief, which if suffer'd to
 ' go on — will rise into Corporations and Societys of
 ' Schism, to propagate a Generation of Vipers, that will eat
 ' thro the very Bowels of our Church, and perpetuate their
 ' Dissension to Posterity? P. 55. This is a sufficient Argument
 ' how little they deserve, and how much they will abuse any Indul-
 ' gence

gence that is granted them.—— Doubtless out of these
 Schools and Nurserys of Rebellion have spawn'd that multi-
 tude of factious, heterodox, atheistical, leud Books and sedi-
 tious Libels, which are every day publish'd against Monarchy.'

Now after all this, let any Man judg what Truth there is in the Doctor's Assertion, That he did not intend to cast the least invidious Reflection upon that Indulgence which is granted by Law to Dissenters, of whom he gives such a Character in general, that were it true, they would be so far from deserving an Indulgence, that it would be the Duty of the Government indeed to exterminate them; and if the Presbyterians in particular be such Persons as he represents them to be, the Union with *Scotland*, and the establishing Presbytery there for ever, makes the Queen a *Felo de se*, and her Majesty and the Parliament liable to the greatest of Judgments here, and to Damnation hereafter, according to the Doctor's *Derby Sermon*, pag. 13, 14. where he says, that those who authorize Schism, &c. it recoils upon 'em for basely abusing their Power, prostituting the Vicegerency of God to execrable purposes, betraying their sacred Trust and Commission, and violating their Faith and Honour. So that we are not to wonder that his seditious Mob being prepar'd by such Harangues from him and his Brethren in Iniquity, list'd themselves under his bloody Flag, rose in Rebellion against Queen and Parliament, burnt Meeting-Houses, and threaten'd to murder the Dissenting Ministers and Moderate Church-Divines.

His 21st Paragraph is a refin'd piece of Jesuitism and Equivocation; the Doctor says he neither suggested nor does in his Conscience believe the Church is in the least peril or adversity from her Majesty's Administration. He quibbles upon the word *from*, whereas that of the Commons is *under*; but to be convinc'd of his Falshood, we need only consider how much in the Passages already quoted he insists upon the Church's Danger, and what frightful Ideas he gives of it by reason of the Toleration, which her Majesty has made her own Act, by promising she will *maintain it inviolably*. He knows also her Majesty has made Presbytery perpetual in *Scotland* by the Union-Act. And after all the odious Characters he has given us of that Government, and of the danger that it carries in its bosom to Church and State, he must either prevaricate abominably in this Answer, or own himself to be a Lyar in his Sermons. But to shew how much her Majesty and her Ministry are oblig'd to him, let's consider what he says in his *Derby-Sermon*, p. 4.
 ' That those in Authority make themselves guilty of other
 ' mens Sins, by authorizing Schism and Faction, &c. P. 5.
 ' That we find in Scripture many Instances of very flagrant
 ' Sins committed by *some Ministers of State*, ascrib'd only to the
 ' Supreme Power under whose Commission they acted—that
 ' the

' the same will hold good in all Cases of Government ; for
 ' Magistrates are accountable to God for the Crimes of their
 ' Inferiours in which they are Partakers, and consequently will
 ' bear the Load of a double Damnation.—P. 6. For certainly any
 ' Person in Authority does much more contribute to the Advancement of
 ' Evil by a permissive Silence and passive Forbearance, than an Inferior
 ' can in the **MOST VIGOROUS EXPRESSION OF HIS**
 ' **ZEAL AND FERVENCY FOR IT.**—P. 7. Thus the
 ' Toleration of any Sin in others, by Persons of Power and Au-
 ' thority, translates it back on their own heads, and renders them
 ' actually guilty of it.—P. 13. Let but a Man of Figure and
 ' Character, of Interest and Quality, lead the way, how many
 ' implicate and fawning Profelytes will follow the temporizing
 ' Courtier, like Beasts in a track, with a refin'd Understanding,
 ' to give up their Creed, abandon their old Friends, carels
 ' their most implacable Enemys, and betray and sacrifice both
 ' Church and State to their insatiable Lust, Pride, Avarice
 ' and Ambition : such a Man, like *Lucifer*, must fall with and
 ' damn his Legions, and like him too be accountable for all
 ' the Villany, Treachery, and Rebellion, into which his hellish
 ' Example seduc'd them.'

That he reflects upon the Administration, is further evident
 by the following Instances. 1. The Dedication of his *Derby*
Sermon, where he says, ' That the Principles and Interest of
 ' our Church and Constitution are shamefully betray'd and run
 ' down, and persecuted with open Violence.' In the Dedic-
 ' tion of the *Fifth-of-November Sermon*, where he says, ' That
 ' Truth is suppress'd by Number and Noise, and rebellious Ap-
 ' peals made to the People, &c. which are the fashionable Me-
 ' thods now made use of, to overhear and silence our Church,
 ' —That our Constitution is in danger, when so vigorously at-
 ' tack'd from without, and so lazily defended from within.'

P. 12. He says, ' The horrid Actions and Principles of 41
 ' have been of late years, to the great Scandal of our Church
 ' and Nation, publicly defended, not only by the Agents and
 ' Writers of the Republican Faction, but by some that have
 ' the confidence to stile themselves *Sons and Presbyters of the*
 ' *Church of England*, who—manifestly defend the Resistance of
 ' the Supreme Power, under a new-fangled Notion of Self-
 ' defence.'

P. 13. ' Such villainous and seditious Principles as these,
 ' demand a Confutation from that Government they so inso-
 ' lently threaten and arraign, and are only proper to be an-
 ' swer'd by that Sword they wou'd make our Princes bear in
 ' vain, by the so long call'd for Censure of an Ecclesiastical
 ' Synod, and the Correction of a provok'd and affronted Le-
 ' gislature ; to whose strict Justice and undeserv'd Mercy I
 ' commit both them and their Authors.'

P. 16. He says, ' This pious Design of making our House of Prayer a Den of Thieves, of reforming our Church into a Chaos, is well known to have been attempted several times in this Kingdom, and lately within our memory, when all things seem'd to favour it; but that good Providence, who so happily interpos'd against the Ruin of our Church, and blasted the long-projected Scheme of these Ecclesiastical *Achitophels*. A Scheme so monstrous, so romantick and absurd, that 'tis hard to say whether it had more of Villany or Folly in it.'

The good Providence, which this Incendiary says so happily interpos'd against the Ruin of our Church, was the Death of the late King and Queen of glorious memory, and of Archbishop *Tillotson*; but to shew the Rancor of the Doctor, and that even those whose Memory he pretends to revere cannot escape his Condemnation, 'tis fit to observe that the Comprehension, which he libels here in such an outrageous manner, was the Project of the late Archbishop *Sancroft*, and the other Bishops who presented their Petition to K. *James*: and that Comprehension was the very thing which they meant by those words in their Petition, *of coming to a Temper with relation to Dissenters*, which they thought necessary for securing the Protestant Religion, then so openly attack'd by Popery and Arbitrary Power. And this Scheme they drew up, and committed to several of the most eminent Clergy in and about *London*, to be consider'd, in order to be presented to both Houses of Convocation and Parliament. According to this Project, a Commission was open'd in the *Jerusalem Chamber*, *October 10. 1689.* by K. *William's* Order; but 'twas defeated by the practice of the Highfliers, who have always been Enemys to Moderation and Comprehension, and have rather been for displaying the bloody Flag against them, as *Sacheverell* and his Faction have now done.

His Libelling the Administration is further evident by P. 16. where he says; ' But since this Model of an Universal Liberty, and Coalition fail'd, and these false Brethren could not carry the Conventicle into the Church, they were now resolv'd to bring the Church into the Conventicle, which will more plausibly and slyly effect her Ruin. What could not be gain'd by Comprehension and Toleration, must be brought about by Moderation and Occasional Conformity; that is, what they could not do by open violence, they will not fail by secret Treachery to accomplish. If the Church can't be pull'd down, it may be blown up; and no matter with these Men how 'tis destroy'd, so that it is destroy'd. And P. 18. he says, ' Falsehood always implies Treachery; and whether that is a Qualification for any one to be trusted, especially with the Guardianship of our Church and Crown, let our Governors consider.'

In the Dedication of his *Oxford Assize Sermon*, he says, 'These temporizing Hypocrites have the confidence both to flatter and to betray the Church, and under the pretence of its Interest, give it up to the unsatiable Malice and Revenge of its most inexorable Enemies. — P. 3. he says, 'Prejudice and Partiality can transform Religion into Enthusiasm, Superstition and Atheism and Government, into Fraud, Bribery and Oppression; fill our Church with Bigots, Fanaticks, and Infidels; our Courts with Parasites, Informers and Sycophants; and if not timely prevented, subvert the Peace and Establishment of Church and State, and deprive us of what we can possibly claim as our Right, either by Human or Divine Law. — P. 26. he says, 'These Cabals for Propagating Sin, and Societies for Debauching **INSTEAD OF REFORMING MANNERS**, have planted themselves up and down in the Kingdom. With what Industry, Diligence and Application, these Apostles of Darknes, and Emisaries of the Devil have pursu'd their Hellish Cause, is too lamentably apparent from that open Profession they have dar'd to make of their licentious and intolerable Heresies, from the Approbation and Countenance they have **RECEIV'D FROM SOME GREAT MEN**, and the poisonous and lewd Lives of their Patrons and Advocates: A Crime, which as it surmounts all sharpness and severity of Expression to describe, requires the utmost of sharpness and severity to punish it; for 'tis of such a black, and flagrant Nature, of such pernicious and detestable Consequence both to Church and State, both to *Religion and Government*, that 'tis a *Disgrace to both*, that it shou'd escape without condign Vengeance in a Christian Dominion, which by impunity may pull that dreadful Vengeance down on its own Head, which is due to those insolent Malefactors.'

Pag. 31. He says of Dissenters, 'Such is the malignant Virulence, and implacable Rancor of Fanaticism, that it animated a body of People into a religious frenzy, to act the most astonishing Impieties for God's sake, to pull down his Church, murder his Anointed, and to lay a whole Nation in Blood, and Ruin.'

'We shall find the same Jesuitical Principles like a Plotter in Masquerade, only changing their Name; but carrying on the same Machinations, and wicked Practices in Church and State, to the Subversion of *Constitution in both*, down to this present day. An Argument one cou'd have wish'd had been thought sufficient to have induc'd our wise Legislature to put them both out of the Power of such double-dealing practical Atheists.'

Pag. 32. 'Tis such a prodigious Act of the most audacious Villany, that it seems an equal wonder, that ever that against which our Saviour denounc'd so many woes shou'd want a human Law to restrain it, and that we shou'd be the only Christian Nation

* *Nation in the World without it, or that the Church and Kingdom*
 * *shou'd be deny'd that Law, which can be the alone Support and*
 * *Defence against the Ruin of both, from these their sworn, and for ever*
 * *irreconcilable Enemies.*

Pag. 33. * But what is there that the Infatuation of Preju-
 * dice, Interest and Party, will not perswade Men to do, if it
 * can prevail even upon those who pretend to *support our Church*
 * *and Government*, in spite of their Oaths and Obligations, to
 * betray them, and partially to give up both in Favour of those
 * Men, who have plotted their Destruction ever since they be-
 * gan first to rend it with their unnatural Schism?

* Are these then the Persons to be caress'd? Are these the
 * Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing, that are to be invited and com-
 * plimented, even by our *Superior Pastors*, into Christ's fold,
 * to worry and devour it? Pag. 34. * These are strange Poli-
 * ticks, and whether they savour not of the refin'd Spirit of
 * *Rome or Geneva*, let any Man judg; when they wisely teach
 * us to court our most inveterate Foes, and to abuse and sacri-
 * fice our best and most faithful Friends, to carry on the blest
 * Work of *Occasional Conformity*, to prevaricate and halt
 * betwixt the Church and Conventicle, and be sham'd or afraid
 * to own our true Principles. Upon what bottom must the
 * Church stand, when these are the Conditions and Terms of
 * our Communion? Will nothing but Impossibilities satisfy their
 * unreasonable Demands, to reconcile Light and Darkness,
 * unite Order and Anarchy, and strike up a League betwixt
 * Christ and Belial?

* And yet this is thought sufficiently palliated with a little
 * popular Cant of *Moderation and Comprehension*, Christian Peace
 * and Union, no *Persecution of tender Consciences*, and the migh-
 * ty Fears of *Papery*, and other such base and false Intinua-
 * tions against the Church of *England*; as if her Doctrines
 * were too high-strain'd, and ought to have their Rigor and
 * Severity temper'd and qualify'd; or, as if they tended to
 * bring in that more than *Egyptian* Monster of Idolatry and Su-
 * perstition. By the false Pretences of *Moderation*, these de-
 * signing Men serve themselves in a twofold way, both upon the
 * Church, to amuse and cast it into a dead sleep, and then like
 * *Dalilah* to let in the *Philistines* upon *Sampson*; by widening a
 * Breach in her Constitution, first to weaken, and then to over-
 * throw it: and on the Dissenters, to sooth and encourage
 * them in their Sins, by mitigating theirs and the Church's
 * Differences; nay (which is more astonishing) even by
 * justifying their *Damnable Schism*. What have such Men to do
 * with Peace and Christian Union? We may learn this even
 * from a *Jezabel*, that *Zimri* shou'd have no Peace who slew his
 * Master; and that we ought to suffer for our Folly, if we are
 * so weak as to trust those who never fail'd of betraying us

‘ when they were trusted. Comprehension is so nonsensical
 ‘ and wicked a Scheme of Religion, and will produce such a
 ‘ destructive Latitude in it, that instead of bringing the Dis-
 ‘ senters into the Church, it will carry the Church into the
 ‘ Dissenters, into which it is utterly impossible they ever should
 ‘ come upon their own Principles.’

P. 42. He says, ‘ That according as a Man is engag’d in a
 ‘ Party or Profession, or lies under such particular Circum-
 ‘ stances in his Life and Character, he shall be more or less ob-
 ‘ noxious to the Insults of his Adversarys, or intitled to the
 ‘ partial Favour of his Friends. What is it else that suppresses
 ‘ Learning and Vertue, and raises some Men unaccountably to Dig-
 ‘ nitys and Preferments, and draws them up like fortunate Exhalations
 ‘ to blaze in the Firmament of the Church and State, and oftentimes
 ‘ portend the Destruction and Downfal of both?’

Let the World judg then of the Sincerity of the Doctor’s
 Oath, and calling God to witness that he did by no Suggestion
 charge her Majesty, or those in Authority under her, with a
 general Male-Administration; since there never was a more
 malicious and villanous Libel drawn up against the Admini-
 stration of any Prince in the world. For if these things quoted
 from him relating to the Danger of the Church and State be
 notorious and flagrant, as he boldly asserts; and if the
 Dissenters tolerated by Law in *England*, and Presbytery esta-
 blish’d in *Scotland*, and the want of a Law against Occasional
 Conformity, be of such dangerous consequence, as he has
 asserted; he expressly makes her Majesty, her Ministry, and
 the Parliament doubly guilty of authorizing them, and by con-
 sequence liable to a double Load of Damnation, for damning
 Legions with themselves, as he has express’d it in his *Derby*
Sermon.

What he says in the 24th Paragraph to the Charge of his
 drawing a Parallel betwixt those who voted *K. Charles I.* to be
 out of danger, when they were actually conspiring his Death;
 and the Vote of the two Houses that the Church was in no
 danger, is false and trifling: For in the 21st Page of his Fifth
 of *November* Sermon he expresses himself so, as every body un-
 derstood it to be a Parallel; and ’tis evident he so intended it
 himself, by the Apology immediately following, viz. ‘ What I
 ‘ have thus freely spoken, I hope is as much without offence,
 ‘ as it proceeds from a good Intention, and a tender Concern
 ‘ for her Majesty’s Person and Government, and a hearty Zeal
 ‘ for the Honour and Safety of our excellent Church and Con-
 ‘ stitution.’ He says nothing there by way of Apology for her
 Majesty or the Parliament, nor so much as softens the Charge,
 by supposing they might be mistaken. But ’tis plain from the
 whole Tenor of his Discourses quoted above, that he actually
 charges the Queen, Ministry, and Parliament to be in a Plot
 against

against the Church ; because her Majesty has promis'd to maintain the Toleration inviolably, because she has again and again recommended Moderation from the Throne, and because the House of Lords rejected the Occasional Bill, and because her Majesty and the Parliament have ratify'd Presbytery in *Scotland* by the Union-Act. All which proves beyond contradiction, that his Design was to suggest that her Majesty and the Parliament were really plotting to ruin the Church, when they voted her to be out of danger.

His Reflection, *Paragraph 26.* upon those who divide us by knavish Distinctions, recoils upon himself ; who in his Discourses above-mention'd has made use of more virulent and knavish Distinctions than ever yet drop'd from the Pen of one Man ; and has particularly apply'd that Distinction of False Brethren to all the moderate Bishops, inferior Clergy, and Laymen of the Church of *England* : and because of her Majesty's Conduct, as has been already said, the necessary Consequence of his Reasoning is, that she is a false and unnatural Mother. His Defence in the close of that Paragraph is so shuffling and hateful, that no man can read it without a lively Resentment of his Hypocrisy ; since his Disciples and Admirers, who must be suppos'd to understand his Doctrine best, have actually broke out into Rebellion, and continue to insult the Government with their Mobs, Bonfires, &c. Besides, 'tis plain from his whole Charge against the Government, Parliament, and Administration, that his Design was Rebellion, as the Commons justly charg'd him. What else is the meaning of those Expressions in the Dedication of his *Derby Sermon* ? ' That there are still among us those who have Courage to speak Truth, as well as those who have Lives and Fortunes to maintain it ? ' And in the ninth Page of that Sermon, where he expresses himself thus : ' As we are Members of any Government or Society, we are all oblig'd, in point of Honour, Interest and Conscience, to maintain its Security, promote its Welfare, and guard it against any factious Designs or seditious Conspiracies that may threaten its Constitution, discompose its Peace, or violate and subvert its Laws. God and Nature has invested every Subject from his Cradle with a Commission to engage, discover, and disappoint the Enemys of his Church and Country ; and he that is either privy to, industriously conceals, or any ways abets their schismatical, illegal, or rebellious Enterprizes, both in the eyes of Human as well as Divine Laws, is an Accomplice and Partaker in the Guilt, a Traitor to God and his Prince, a Patron and Protector of Injustice, and a common Adversary to himself, as well as all Mankind.' His Mob, who adore him, were under a necessity then to rise in Rebellion, if they believ'd his Charge upon the Government, except they would be liable to all those Penalties.

What he says, Paragraph 27. as to his taking the Oaths to her Majesty, and abjuring the Pretender, is so far from being an Apology for him, that it aggravates his Crimes, and convicts him of Perjury and Treachery both to God, his Queen, and his Country. And 'tis so far from being apparent, that when he preach'd Non-Resistance, he persuaded the Subjects not to resist the present Government; that the quite contrary is evident, for all his Libels above-mention'd are levell'd at the present Administration: and so his rebellious Mob understood 'em, as they had very good reason to do, which is a sufficient Proof of his abominable Hypocrisy.

For his former Sermon he refers to Paragraph 28. We have heard already, that in that very Discourse he had squint Reflections upon the Revolution, without which her Majesty could never in any probability had either Title or Possession. But supposing it to be otherwise, his Encomiums upon her Majesty then will not justify his preaching Sedition against her since, as the Commons have justly charg'd him, and as the Lords have found him guilty.

His being a Member of *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford*, which he says by their Sufferings contributed as much towards the late happy Revolution as any Society in the Kingdom, is as little to his purpose, but rather makes against him, as it does against others of that Society, if there be any such, who have since espous'd his slavish Principles; which if they had been really believ'd or practis'd by the Nation, would either have brought that College to have suffer'd more, or to have abjur'd their Religion. In the mean time we may see that the Doctor prevaricates here with his own Faction as well as with others, by calling the late Revolution happy; but we may know what meaning they put upon his words, or at least that they look upon that Expression not to be natural but forc'd from him, otherwise Nonjurants, Jacobites and Papists would never have risen in Rebellion to prevent his Trial: But he has made it evident by many other Instances, that he speaks one thing, and means another, or at least that he differs from all Mankind in the common-Acceptation of *English* words; since he has had the Impudence to say, and still adheres to it, that there was no Resistance in the Revolution. He must also give us leave to tell him, that the Sufferings of *Magdalen-College*, or any other, would never have occasion'd the late happy Revolution, had not Resistance been made use of: and let him if he can reconcile with his Non-resistance and railing at the Toleration, the Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal at *Guildhall* the 11th of *December*, 1688. wherein they declare their Approbation of the Prince of *Orange's* effecting their Deliverance with as little Effusion of Christian Blood as possible, from the imminent Dangers of Popery

Popery and Slavery, and that they would assist him with their utmost Endeavours, to obtain such a Parliament as might secure the Church of *England* in particular with a due liberty to Protestant Dissenters, and the Protestant Religion all over the World, and that they would disarm all Papists. They accordingly disarm'd the *Irish* Troops, and the Archbishop himself went to the *Tower*, to demand the Keys of King *James's* Lieutenant, and put them into the hands of the late Lord *Lucas*; yet this obstinate and shameless Wretch will still insist upon it, that there was no Resistance at the late Revolution.

SPEECH, Paragraphs XXXI. to the End.

31. My Lords, the Charge of wickedly wresting divers Texts of Scripture, lies very heavy upon me, as a Christian, and Minister of Christ. If I am guilty of it, there is another Tribunal, another Bar at which I am to appear, and where by that Scripture, which I have wrested, I shall be judg'd, and condemn'd. In the mean time, my Lords, I hope that those, whose particular Profession, and Studys qualify them to be the most competent Judges of such Matters, will absolve me in this Particular.

32. Upon the whole, therefore my Lords, I hope it appears, that I am not guilty of any of the Crimes of which I am accus'd, that I have transgress'd no Law of the Land, neither Statute, nor Common Law, relating either to Her Majesty, or to my Fellow-Subjects, to the Church, or to the State; and that I may with all Humility apply to my own Case, the words of that blessed Apostle, whose Doctrine I defend, and whose Example I hope I shall have the Grace to follow: Neither against the Law, nor against the Temple, nor against *Caesar*, have I offended any thing at all.

33. What I have hitherto humbly offer'd to Your Lordships relates to my Words, and Actions; and as to the Thoughts, and Intentions of my Heart, which are known only to God, and my own Conscience, and which are affirm'd in my Impeachment, to be wicked, seditious, and malicious; I call the Searcher of Hearts to witness in the most solemn, and religious manner, as I expect to be acquitted before God, and his Holy Angels, at that dreadful Tribunal, before which not only I, but all the World, even Your Lordships, who now sit in Judgment upon me must appear, to be acquitted, or condemn'd; that I had no such wicked, seditious, or malicious Intentions; that there is nothing upon Earth, I more detest, and abhor; that my Designs were, in every respect, directly contrary. I had no Intention to asperse the Memory of his late Majesty, to traduce, or condemn the late happy Revolution, or to arraign the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament. So far was I from designing to undermine, and subvert Her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Succession as by Law establish'd, that it was my sincere Intention to exert my best Endeavours for their Security. So far was I from intending, to per-
suade

suade Her Majesty's Subjects to keep up a Distinction of Parties, and Factions, from instilling groundless Jealousies, fomenting destructive Divisions among them, or exciting and stirring them up to Arms and Violence, *that my Aim was to persuade them to lay aside all Distinctions, to unite in one, well compacted Body, to be obedient to their Governors, and to support the present Establishment. So far was I from designing to defame Her Majesty's Administration, or to infuse any undutiful Thoughts of Her, that I not only pay Her all Honour and Obedience, but am from the bottom of my Soul zealously, and affectionately loyal to Her; being entirely persuaded, that the Church is so far from being in Danger from Her, that She is as heartily affected to its Establishment and Prosperity, as, I hope, I have always shew'd my self to be to Her Sacred Person, and Government.*

34. *As to the Protestant Succession by Law establish'd, tho the Doctrine which I preach'd, tends to the Security of it, (as I heartily desire every thing by me spoken should tend) yet having no Occasion in either of my Sermons to take notice of it, I do no where in those Sermons mention it, nor say any thing that can be interpreted to have any view towards it. Therefore tho I cannot with my best Application apprehend, how it comes to be said in the Preamble to my Impeachment, that I had design'd to undermine and subvert it, yet I shall gladly take this Opportunity, of declaring my self, before Your Lordships, upon that Subject. It is my sincere and hearty Prayer, that God would prolong the Life of Her most Sacred Majesty, whose exemplary Goodness and Piety give us the best hopes we have of averting that Vengeance, which is due to the Wickedness of the Age we live in; that he would bless Her Councils at Home, and Her Arms Abroad, and make Her Reign exceed that of Her renown'd Predecessor Queen Elizabeth, in Length, as well as Glory. But when the Inheretrix of the blessed Martyr's Crown and Piety, when She, the Desire of our Eyes, and Breath of our Nostrils, shall full of Years and Honour, be gather'd to her Fathers, and exchange Her Temporal for an Immortal Crown; (since we are depriv'd of that Prince, Her Royal Offspring, whose Loss no true Lover of his Country, and of the Royal Family, can reflect upon without a bleeding Heart, and whom God in his Anger took from us, because we were unworthy of so inestimable a Blessing) I earnestly beseech God, in defect of future Issue from Her Majesty, to perpetuate the Succession of the Crown, as it is establish'd in the most Illustrious House of Hannover, which I look upon as, next to his Providence, the best Guard we have against Popery and arbitrary Power, the best Security of our Church, and of the Constitution of our Government, which is the Glory and Happiness of our own Nation, and the Envy of all others. And I cannot yet apprehend, how the Doctrine which I have taught tends to weaken, or undermine it; nor on the other side, how the Doctrine of Resistance, which brought*

brought Her Majesty's Royal Grandfather to the Block (supposing it a true Doctrine) comes to be mention'd, or thought of, much less to be industriously maintain'd, as a necessary and indispensable Duty, under the most mild and gracious Administration of the best of Queens. Nothing seems more strange than that Resistance should be so carefully taught under such a Government, unless it be that Non-Resistance should overturn it.

35. So far was I therefore from having any of those wicked, malicious, or seditious Designs, which are laid to my Charge, that my Intentions were, on the contrary, to instil the Principles of Loyalty and Obedience into my Fellow-Subjects, and withal to put a stop to that Torrent of Leudness, Irreligion, and Atheism, of which I have given Your Lordships so many flagrant Testimonies.

36. Those outrageous Insults upon God, and Goodness, are so provoking, that they may excuse some Heat, and Severity of Expression in a Minister of Christ, who has a just Sense of Religion, a due Concern for the Discharge of his holy Function, or for the Honour of his Maker, and Redeemer. And if any Objection be made against me, for treating with an unbecoming Bitterness such daring Rabshakehs, who defy the living God; I beg leave to reply in the words of a Reverend Father of our Church, Let them consider what Moderation, and Temper, a Man had need be of, that in this Nation, and this Age shall speak against Faction, Rebellion (I add Deism, Tritheism, and all sorts of Heresy, Blasphemy and Atheism) without extraordinary Severity. Nay, it is our Duty in such Cases, to express our selves with Warmth, and Sharpness, according to the Example of our blessed Saviour; who, tho Meekness it self, could not but shew the utmost Indignation at the profaning the House of God. This is not, my Lords, to rail, but to rebuke; and those, who ridicule or censure us for it, either have not, I presume, or will not own they have, a right Notion of the Dignity of our Office; will not consider, that we are the Ambassadors of Christ, that we are commanded, in his Name, to exhort, and rebuke with all Authority; and that our Authority is deriv'd from those to whom it was said by our blessed Saviour; He that despiseth you, despiseth me, and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me. Whatever Expressions therefore in my Sermons may have slipt from me, which seem so far liable to exception, as to carry a Sense I never intended (as he must be an happy Speaker indeed, whose words are altogether unexceptionable) yet I humbly hope, the abovemention'd Provocations will plead my Excuse, or that, at the very worst, some hasty, or even violent Expressions, shall not be deem'd High Crimes and Misdemeanors. I desire it may be farther consider'd by Your Lordships, that I could have no Temporal Interests to serve by the Doctrines I advanc'd; and therefore could have no Design in view, but to discharge my Duty to God, as a Minister of Christ, and to my Sovereign, as a faithful, and loyal Subject.

37. My Lords, *these things being humbly offer'd to the Consideration of Your Lordships, I hope, that what I have already suffer'd, as a suppos'd Criminal, will be thought sufficient Punishment for one, who has offended against no Law yet in being. It must be thought no little Grief, and Vexation to any ingenuous Man, to be brought to this Bar, under the least Suspicion of such Crimes as are laid to my Charge; but for a Person of my Function to have an Accusation of this Nature alledg'd against him, so heinously reflecting upon his holy Character, is such a foul Blot, as tho his Innocence shou'd at last be clear'd by Your Lordships, upon the most undeniable Evidence, must leave a Scar upon his good Name; which is to all Men dear, but much more so to those, whose whole Capacity of doing good in the World principally depends upon it.*

38. My Lords, *as the Matter of my Charge was highly criminal, so the Form and Manner of it ran in such general and uncertain Terms, that 'twas impossible to know the Grounds of my Accusation; or how to defend my self, when I knew not where I should be attack'd. So that after I had provided as particular an Answer as such a general Accusation would admit of, the Commons were pleas'd in their Replication to say, that there were several things in it foreign to the Charge. To the great Misfortune of falling under the Displeasure of that Honourable House, I might add, that of a long and close Confinement, and of an Expence no ways proportion'd to my Circumstances. These, my Lords, are Afflictions which can be conceiv'd by no body so well as by him, who has been so unhappy as to feel the weight of them. And among these I reckon it not the least of my Sufferings, that I have been for so long a time debar'd, from taking heed to that Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made me an Overseer. For even since I have had my Liberty, by the favour of Your Lordships admitting me to bail, I have purposely avoided doing any part of the Duty of my Function, or even appearing in Publick, lest it should occasion any Tumult or Disturbance; as my necessary Attendance on Your Lordships from time to time, has since been thought unhappily to have done, without any Fault of mine, or the least degree of Encouragement given by me, which I profess, in the Presence of God, to abhor.*

39. *All these Circumstances, my Lords, being consider'd, together with the publick Manner, the Length, and Solemnity of my Trial, before so August a Court of Judicature, by which means I am made a Gazing-Stock, both by Reproaches, and Afflictions, and a Spectacle to the whole World; I have stood in this place day after day, to hear my self accus'd of the blackest Crimes, and openly revil'd; I have been represented as a Papist in Disguise, as a Rebel, as an Enemy to Her Majesty's Person and Government, and a Favourer of the Pretender, tho I have abjur'd him (but not forgot him, as a learned Person was pleas'd to say) that is, as the worst of perjur'd Villains: I have been call'd an insignificant Tool of a Party, on the one hand, and a most dangerous Incendiary*

diary, on the other, nay an Angel, that is a Devil, detach'd from the infernal Regions. All these things, I say, being consider'd (and Your Lordships I am sure, in tender Compassion to me, will consider them) it is most certain, that, whatever be Your Lordships Determination concerning me, I cannot escape without being a very great Sufferer, and I shall have been abundantly punish'd, tho I should have the Happiness to be by Your Lordships at last acquitted.

40. Yet I cannot reflect without Comfort (the greatest of Comforts next to that of a good Cause, and a good Conscience) that I answer for my self this day before the most illustrious Assembly in the World, the whole Body of the Nobility of Great Britain; whose Princely Extraction, and High Quality, whose magnificent Titles, and splendid Fortunes, whose hereditary Candour, and Generosity, inherent in noble Blood, inseparable from the Birth, and Education of Peers; in a word, whose solid Judgment, and exact Skill in the Laws of this Realm, so eminently qualify them for the final Determination of Justice; who are neither to be sway'd by Hopes, over-rul'd by Fears, nor misled by any false Prejudice, or Passion. If it must be a Man's Misfortune, to labour under such hard Circumstances, as mine, it is no small Mitigation of them, that he pleads his Cause before such Judges, who, he knows, will decide it, with the strictest Impartiality, Equity, and Honour.

41. And when I consider that I now stand, and am judg'd, for some of the Doctrines of that Gospel, which God deliver'd unto our Fathers, and You, my Lords the Bishops, their Successors, have receiv'd from Christ, and his Apostles, as the sacred Depositum of the Church, to be maintain'd inviolably in its Primitive Simplicity; when I consider, what is the Cause for which I am this day call'd in question; that it is one of those eternal Truths, which you are so solemnly commission'd to teach, and earnestly contend for; when I consider, that 'tis what our blessed Lord and his Apostles seal'd with their most precious Blood, and so many Primitive Martyrs maintain'd even in the midst of Flames, so many learned Bishops, and Confessors recommended to Posterity in their immortal Writings, as the distinguishing Badg, and Glory of our Reformation; nay, when I consider, that 'tis what you yourselves have already supported with incontestable Reason, and Authority; it is no small satisfaction to me to think, that as Your Lordships are my Judges, so, I hope in God, you must be my Advocates. What a Guilt, as well as Disgrace, would it justly devolve upon the Clergy, to recede from any Principle of our excellent Church, especially from what has been so long retain'd, and boasted of, as its peculiar Character! By abandoning which we must relapse into some of the worst Doctrines even of Popery it self, and render our selves the most contemptible, as well as inconsistent Church in the World! I think, I may therefore with confidence use the

words of the Great Apostle to his Accusers; having obtain'd Help from God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great; saying none other things than those which the Prophets and Moses (I may add Christ and his Apostles) did say.

42. For, my Lords, if I have committed any Faults or Errors in Expression, yet as I insist upon my Innocence with respect to all the high Crimes laid to my Charge, so I must still insist upon All the Doctrines which I have taught, as being agreeable to the Word of God, and to the Doctrine of our most excellent and truly Apostolical Church, and which we of the Clergy are oblig'd both by Subscription, and Oath to acknowledg, and defend. And how hard are our Circumstances, if we must be punish'd in this World for doing that, which if we do not, we shall be more heavily punish'd in the next! What a Condition are we in, if we are commanded to cry aloud and spare not, to exhort, rebuke, in Season and out of Season, on the one hand; and prosecuted, imprison'd, ruin'd on the other! If this be our Case, who indeed is sufficient for these things? And how truly may we of the Ministry above all Men living, apply to our selves those words of the Apostle, If in this Life only we have Hope in Christ, we are of all Men most miserable: But our Comfort is, that our Hope in Christ is not only in this Life. Justly might we be reproach'd, and deserve some of those Reflections, which in these licentious times are so plentifully pour'd upon us, were we not ready to practise the Doctrines we preach, of Self-Denial, taking up our Cross, and patient Submission to Sufferings and Afflictions! For my own part, it matters not what becomes of me, nor is my Deliverance, or Ruin, of any moment to the World; or, if it be, I am ready not only to be bound, but to die, could I by that do Service to my Queen, my Church, or my Country; neither count I my Life dear, so that I might finish my Course with Joy, and the Ministry, which I have receiv'd of the Lord Jesus. But may God so direct Your Lordships, that thro me a Wound may not be given to the Doctrines of the Scriptures, and of the Church, which Christ hath purchas'd with his own Blood.

43. And so, with all Humility and Resignation, I submit my self to Your Lordships Judgment; be it what it will, one thing I am sure it can never take from me, the Power of Wishing, and Praying, and (whether in Prosperity or Adversity, whether I am acquitted, or condemn'd) I shall always pray for the Queen my Sovereign, for Your Lordships my Judges, and for the Commons my Accusers; most earnestly beseeching Almighty God, to deliver all Orders and Degrees of Men amongst us, from all false Doctrine, Heresy and Schism, from Harbours of Heart, from Contempt of his Word, and Commandment; from Envy, Hatred and Malice, and all Uncharitableness.

R E F L E C T I O N S.

There has been so much said already by way of Anticipation in answer to the whole of this Speech, that a few Reflections more upon it may serve. What he says, Paragraph 30. of the Evidences he could have produc'd of his hearty Affection to the present Government, is contradicted by all his Discourses abovemention'd: nor needed the Commons have wanted Proofs to the contrary from his Actions, had it been worth their while to rake into his Life; but there was no need of that, since they had enough under his own hand to prove the Charge against him.

The Doctor complains, Paragraph 37. that the Charge of wickedly wresting divers Texts of Scripture, lies very heavy upon him as a Christian and a Minister, which is certainly true; and so much the more, that he has neither the Honesty to confess, nor to repent of it, tho it be obvious to all the World. Could any thing be more sillily or maliciously perverted than that Passage about the Prophet *Elisha's* Servant, pag. 21. that he could not behold his Master's Peril, till his Eyes were open'd by a Miracle, and he found himself in the midst of Horses and Chariots of Fire? when the contrary is so evident from the Text, *2 Kings 6. 15.* that the Prophet's Servant saw his Master's Danger from the Host of the *Syrians*, and cry'd out for fear, but could not see the Chariots of Fire that Heaven had sent to defend his Master, till his Eyes were open'd by Miracle. 'Tis in vain for the Doctor to alledg, that this was a Mistake of the Press, for 'twas certainly his own Blunder or Malice; for the opening of the Man's Eyes to see his Master's Security would no way have suted the Doctor's purpose. At the same time we may justly observe of the Doctor, that he is struck with a much greater Blindness than that of the Prophet's Servant; for it was no fault of the Man's that he could not see things supernatural: but the Doctor is criminal to a degree, that he can't see the Church secur'd from danger by so many Laws, by a Queen of her own Principles on the Throne, by 26 Bishops in the House of Peers, and by all the Lords and Commons of her Communion in both Houses. But he makes good the old Proverb, *That there's none so blind as they that will not see.*

His perverting of the Text is further evident from the close of his Sermon, where he quotes a Passage out of the *Lamentations* that is not there, viz. that tho the Church lies bleeding of the Wounds she has receiv'd in the House of her Friends, *Lam. 2. 2, 4.* for so 'tis printed both in his *Quarto* and *Octavo* Editions. Certainly this argues a scandalous Ignorance of the Scripture in a D. D. and an unexcusable neglect, since a Glance upon his Concordance would have set him right. His

Ignorance or Carelesness is as visible in quoting the following words from *Zech. 13. 6.* ' For tho the ways of *Sion* may mourn
 ' for a time, and her Gates be desolate, her Priests sigh and
 ' she in Bitterness, because her Adversarys are chief, and her
 ' Enemies at present prosper; tho among all her Lovers she has
 ' few to comfort her, and many of her Friends have dealt
 ' treacherously with her, and are become her Enemies.' Not
 one word of which is in *Zechary*, but most of it in the *Lamen-*
tations, Chap. 1. 2, 4. yet not so neither as he has quoted
 them, by jumbling some Texts together, the better to serve
 his purpose. This is still more evident by his next Quota-
 tion from *Isaiah 51. 18.* viz. ' Tho there are few to guide her
 ' among all the Sons whom she has brought forth, neither are
 ' there many that take her by the hand of all the Sons that
 ' she hath brought up,' Whereas the Text is, There is *none*
 to guide her among all the Sons whom she has brought forth,
 neither is there *any* that taketh her by the Hand; which makes
 it plain, that his Design was maliciously to apply those Texts
 to the Danger he supposes the Church of *England* to be in.
 How is it possible then that this Man can obtain Belief from
 any body of sense, that he did not suggest and assert, that the
 Church of *England* is in a Condition of great Peril and Adversity
 under her Majesty's Administration, when he says, ' The Priests
 ' of the Church sigh, she her self is in Bitterness, and her
 ' Adversaries are chief?' This explains his former Proposi-
 tion, that *false Brethren are entrusted with the Guardianship of the*
Church and Crown; and is a full proof of his libelling her Maje-
 sty's Administration, and suggesting the Church to be in dan-
 ger under it. One would think there's no need of further proof
 in a thing so clear from his words, and the whole tenour of his
 Sermons; yet we can't pass by what he says in the close of
pag. 25. viz. ' *Let us dare to be true in the worst of times.*' And
 near the beginning of *pag. 26.* where he adds, ' Let us there-
 ' fore, being well assur'd how much our Cause deserves, and how
 ' much at present it requires our bravest Resolution, hold fast our
 ' Integrity and Religion without wavering, and earnestly con-
 ' tend for the Faith which was once deliver'd unto the Saints
 ' — for we wrestle not only against Flesh and Blood, but against
 ' Principalities and Powers, against the Rulers of the Darkness of
 ' this World, against spiritual Wickedness in High Places.' If any
 Man compare these Quotations with what has been said be-
 fore, that the Church lies bleeding of the Wounds she has re-
 ceiv'd in the *House of her Friends*, that her Adversarys are chief,
 that her Enemies at present prosper, that she has few to comfort
 her, few to guide her among all her Sons, nor many to take
 her by the Hand, he must do Violence to his own Sense and
 Reason, not to be convinc'd that these Sermons were design'd
 as an Invektive against her Majesty, her Ministry, the Lord
 Archbishop

Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and all our moderate Bishops and Clergy ; and that his calling upon God so solemnly to witness the contrary, *Paragraph 33.* is one of the most notorious and barefac'd Instances of Perjury that ever was heard of in the World.

His Falshood in the 34th Paragraph, where he says, his Doctrine tended to the Security of the Protestant Succession, is every whit as plain. Did not the Libeller reflect upon the Revolution-Party, p. 19. as denying and cancelling her Majesty's *Hereditary Right*, to make her a Creature of their own Power ? How then can his preaching up the utter Illegality of resisting Princes on any pretence whatsoever, be consistent either with her Majesty's Succession, or that of the House of *Hanover*, both which are founded upon Resistance ? Or how is the Title of the House of *Hanover* consistent with his Plea of *Hereditary Right*, since there are almost twenty Persons, who are nearer in Blood to the Crown than they, set aside to make way for them ? But Contradictions are so natural to the Doctor, that he can swallow and swear to them with as much Ease as other men can to Demonstrations. 'Tis pleasant to hear this Champion of Slavery confess, that the Protestant Succession is, next to God's Providence, the best Guard we have against Popery and arbitrary Power, when at the same time he damns *the resisting of arbitrary Power* ; and that we all know we never could have had that Security he so much commends without that Resistance, and setting aside his Indefeasible Hereditary Right. Has he forgot that King *James* had provided us two other Heirs to entail Popery and Slavery upon us ? Did he not inrol in *Chancery* the pretended Proofs of his Son's Birth ? And since the Nation, without any regard to those Proofs, have not only set aside, but attainted his pretended Son, and that her Majesty has accepted the Crown her self, and settled it, in case of her dying without Issue, on the House of *Hanover* ; does not he fly in her Majesty's face, as well as in that of the Parliament, for making a Breach in the Hereditary Right ? It must certainly be a very wretched Cause that needs so many Contradictions to support it.

His saying, that he can't apprehend how the Doctrine of Resistance, that brought her Majesty's Royal Grandfather to the Block, comes to be mention'd or thought of, much less to be industriously maintain'd as a necessary and indispensable Duty under the most mild and gracious Administration of the best of Queens, serves only to discover his Malice and Hypocrisy. Does he not yet know that the Resistance, which brought King *Charles I.* to the Block, has no manner of Parallel with the Resistance now maintain'd, but exactly agrees with the Resistance practis'd by himself and his Faction against both Queen and Parliament ? Every body knows, and 'tis
own'd

own'd in the 12th of *Charles II. Cap. 30.* that those who murder'd the King could not accomplish their design upon his Life, till by Military force they broke up and dissolv'd the Parliament, and subverted its very Being and Constitution, while the Parliament was treating with him, and had voted his Concessions a ground for Peace. Certainly had not this Man been overgrown with Immodesty, he wou'd never have mention'd this, which directly condemns his own practice, and that of his Mob, which according to that unhallow'd Example, rose in Rebellion against both Queen and Parliament, to interrupt their Proceedings and his Tryal, for teaching such Doctrines as are contrary to positive Statutes, and subvert Her Majesty's Title, and to support his Charge against her Administration, as if the Church were in danger under it, contrary to the Declaration of Her Majesty and both Houses. Whether the Doctor can apprehend it or no, 'tis no great matter; but every body knows that Her Majesties Accession to the Crown, and her quiet Possession of it is intirely owing, under God, to the Resistance which was made at the late Revolution, against the late King, for overturning our Laws, and endeavouring to subvert the very Being and Constitution of Parliaments. How often must he and his Faction be told that the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, as he has preach'd it, has been the Foundation of all the Plots, Rebellions, and Assassinations that have been form'd against the Government since the Revolution? and that 'twas the Argument which all the Rebels and Traitors that have been executed since that time did insist upon at the Gallows, in defence of their Practices. How then can it seem strange to any Man but those of his Kidney, that Resistance shou'd be so carefully taught under a Government that is founded upon it, and that Non-resistance shou'd be exploded, which has so frequently been made use of to overturn it? Is not this a hateful playing upon words, and perverting them contrary to their natural meaning, which has turn'd Non-resistance into actual Rebellion?

What he insists upon, Paragraph 36. that he did not rail but rebuke, is so weak a Plea, and so contrary to Fact, as appears by the Quotations out of his own Sermons, that we shall insist no further upon it. Our Saviour, whose Ambassador he pretends to be, and his Apostles, who were actually such, taught quite contrary to what he has practis'd; they forbid all rash Judgments and Censures, all railing Clamour and Bitterness against Christians who differ'd from one another in things not fundamental; so that he has miserably perverted his Commission, if ever he had any from our Saviour, by committing all those to Fire and Brimstone, in company with the Devil and his Angels, who differ from the Church in things which she herself owns to be indifferent.

There

There can be nothing more disingenuous than what he says in the thirty eighth Paragraph, that he purposely avoided even appearing in publick, lest it should occasion any tumult or disturbance, as his necessary Attendance on their Lordships from time to time, has since been thought unhappily to have done, without any Fault of his, or the least degree of Incongruement given by him, which he professes in the presence of God to abhor. Does not the whole Town know this to be false in Fact? Did not he go to his Trial in Parade and State thro the Streets in a Chariot with large Glasses, that his Mob might see and adore him? Did they not tumultuously follow him the very first day, insult People in the Street, and attempt Mr. *Burgesse's* Meeting-House the next night? Had the Doctor been so careful to avoid Tumults or Disturbances, was it below his quality to go in a Close-Coach, or in the worst Hackney in Town without that Parade and Retinue? Better Men than he in every respect would have gone by Water, as he might easily have done from the Temple, and landed at *Westminster-Stairs*, to avoid Tumults. But we suppose he did not think that consistent with the Dignity of his High-Church Faction: Had he been indowed with the least degree of Modesty or Humility becoming a Clergyman, or with the least regard to the Dignity of his Accusers and Judges, he wou'd have chose the privatest way of going to his Trial, and the modestest way of appearing before them, and not have behav'd himself more like a Bully than a Priest. Scarce any body will believe the sincerity of his Protestation, since he continu'd to go in the same flanting Parade to the House, during the whole time of his Trial, and even in the height of the Mobs, after they had broke out in open Rebellion, attack'd the Members of both Houses in the Streets, threaten'd the Houses and Lives of the chief Ministers of State, and burnt down the Dissenters places of Worship. Yet every one knows the Doctor continued his Procession of State till the Trainbands at *Charing-Cross* scatter'd the Mob that follow'd his Coach; after which the Doctor humbled himself so far as to go to the House in a Chair, tho considering his insolent and rebellious Behaviour, most People were apt to say that he better deserv'd a Sledge. Besides, 'tis well enough known that some of his Attendants dispers'd Mony to the Mob out of their Coaches to heighten their Insolence: nor have we seen any thing of his in print, but this single Sentence against those disorderly Practices, which he professes in the presence of God to abhor. But that we may be fully satisfy'd that this is of a piece with the rest of his Protestations, we need only to consider the Behaviour of himself and his Mob since Sentence was past, their Illuminations and Bonfires in contempt of the Justice of the Nation, since he was set at liberty, and his affecting to come and go thro the City in his Coach.

Coach and four with the Mob at his heels, that very same day when his seditious Sermons, and the slavish Decree of the University, which he quoted in defence of his Doctrine, were burnt, according to Sentence, by the Hand of the Hangman.

But that which puts his Insolence out of all doubt, is his Prayers of Thanksgiving for his great Deliverance out of his Troubles, lately printed for *George Sawbridge* at the *Three Flower-de-luces* in *Little-Britain*, wherein he has these seditious and unbecoming Expressions. *Pag. 5.* 'If the Lord himself had not been on my side, I may say, If the Lord himself had not been on my side, when men rose up against me, they had swallow'd me up quick, when they were so *wrathfully displeased* at me; but thou hast maintained *my Right and my Cause*, and hast been my Refuge in the time of my Trouble. Therefore praised be the Lord, who hath not given me over for a Prey unto their Teeth; my Soul is escaped, even as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowler; the snare is broken, and I am deliver'd.' *Pag. 6.* 'Thou, O God, ——— extend thy favour and loving-kindness towards all Men, especially to *my kind Friends and Benefactors*, under my troubles; reward thou them seven-fold into their bosom for all their good Offices done to me. *Pag. 7.* 'I did call upon the Lord with my Voice, and he heard me out of his Holy Hill; he sent his Word and healed me, and I was saved from destruction ——— I will magnify thee, O Lord, for thou hast set me up, and not made my foes to triumph over me. O what great Troubles and Adversities hast thou shewed me! and yet didst thou turn and refresh me, yea, and broughtest me up from the depth of the Earth again. ——— Therefore shall every good Man sing of thy praise without ceasing. *Pag. 8.* He disappointeth the devices of the Crafty, so that their hands cannot perform their Enterprize. He taketh the Wise in their own Craftiness, and the Counsel of the froward is carried headlong; *Job 5. 12, 13.*'

Can any thing be more insolent than this to the Commons, whom he own'd to have look'd upon him to be no other than the inconsiderable Tool of a Party; and that 'twas the Censure of his Doctrine, and not of his Person, which they principally aim'd at: yet he charges them with *wrathful displeasure*, and blasphemously ascribes to God the maintenance of *his Right and Cause*, as if infinite Goodness wou'd maintain Tyranny to be his Ordinance, which he has so expressely forbid, and so remarkably punish'd in all Ages, as the Doctor has own'd himself in his *Political Union*. Nor is it any great Argument of his prudence to boast of his kind Friends and Benefactors, who by their shameless espousing his Cause, have declar'd themselves Enemies to our Laws and Constitution. Is this his way of praying for the Commons, as he promises to do in the last part of his Speech, to rail upon them as *crafty and froward Men*?

How

How can he have the Hypocrisy to call that a *Deliverance*, which has fix'd an eternal and indelible brand of Infamy up on him, and all those who preach the same Doctrine, in a 'Parliamentary way', as he himself expresses it in the beginning of his Speech? Does not this blast his Memory to all future Ages, for seditious Intentions to undermine and subvert Her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Succession, as by Law Establish'd; to defame Her Majesty's Administration; and to asperse the Memory of his late Majesty; to traduce and condemn the late happy Revolution; to contradict and arraign the Resolution of both Houses of Parliament; to create Jealousies and Divisions among Her Majesty's Subjects; to invite them to Sedition and Rebellion? Certainly to any ingenuous Man the being found guilty of such a Charge wou'd be more intolerable than Death it self. Besides, since he says, 'he reckon'd it none of the least of his sufferings that he has been so long debar'd from taking heed to that Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made him an Overseer;' Can he without the greatest Hypocrisy call that a *Deliverance*, which suspends him for three years, as a Person unworthy to preach to them or to any other?

Is this a suitable return to the Lords for the Moderation of their Sentence, to do what in him lies to create a difference and misunderstanding betwixt them and the Commons, as if they had deliver'd them from the latter, because they were wrathful, crafty, froward men who had prosecuted him unjustly? He must certainly know, that by the nature of his Impeachment there was no design against either his Life or his Limbs; and as to his Fortune, he seems to insinuate, Paragraph 38. that he has none, therefore it had not been worth their while to fine him: so that all they could have done more was to have confin'd him, and to have put some ignominious Punishment upon his Person, for not doing of which, we see how well he has rewarded them. By all this it appears that his Prayers of Thanksgiving for Deliverance, as well as the rest of his Conduct, is a notorious piece of Malice and Hypocrisy: for if we may take his own word for it, Paragraph 37. tho he shou'd have been clear'd, the Prosecution wou'd leave a Scar upon his good Name, upon which his whole capacity of doing good in the World principally depended.

He is very angry, Paragraph 39, that he has been represented as a Papist in disguise, and a favourer of the Pretender, whom tho he has abjur'd, he has not forgot; which makes him one of the worst of perjur'd Men. 'Twere well for the Doctor if his Conduct cou'd have clear'd him of this Charge; 'tis no great Argument of his being a good Protestant, or a real Enemy to the Pretender, that he falls in so palpably with Papists and Jacobites, and that they on the other hand thought

it worth while to raise a Rebellion, in order to prevent his Trial and Punishment : nor is it any good proof of his being a sincere Protestant, that he reflects upon Moderate Church-Men and Dissenters, *Pag. 17. of his St. Paul's Sermon*, ' that out of a seditious fear lest the Modern *Romans* should come and destroy our Church, they are working that Ruin they pretend to avoid ; and under a false Zeal of keeping out Popery, are themselves infallibly bringing it in.' What can any body think of this Man, who calls that a fictitious fear of the moderate Church-Men and Dissenters, when the whole World knows that since the Revolution two Invasions from France have been concerted, and several Assassination Plots form'd by Nonjurant Church of England Men and Papists, as some of 'em confess'd at the Gallows ? and when the Papists and his High Church are carrying on Disturbances thro the Island at this very moment, and not a few of his Champions openly drink the Pretender's Health. Every one knows that the Church of Rome grants Dispensations for Dissimulation, Perjury, and other enormous Crimes, for promoting her own Interest : and since the Doctor visibly does so, we have no great reason to think that they were guilty of a Breach of Charity, who suspected him to be a Papist in Disguise. There's one passage in his Sermon before the University of Oxford, on the Fast-day, *June 10. 1702. Edition 2d. by Henry Clements, Pag. 14.* which has given many People occasion to think him no sound Protestant ; for there he speaks of *our retaining blessed Advocates in Heaven to plead in our defence.* Whereas no Protestant Church owns any other Advocate or Intercessor betwixt God and Man, but the Lord Jesus Christ. If we add to this what he says *Page 36. of his Oxford Assize Sermon, Edition 2d. That the cry of Popery has been always the Trumpet, to all the Sedition and Rebellion that ever infested this Nation, and that it is a Party-Word to exasperate and frighten the Rabble with groundless Jealousies and Fears ;* it must certainly heighten our Suspicion : tho at the same time we cannot but take notice of the Doctor's Inconsistency, and falling directly into the same Crime himself with which he falsely charges the Moderate Churchmen and Dissenters, *viz. that he has endeavour'd to raise groundless Jealousies and Fears against the present Government, Pag. 18. of his 5th of November Sermon, where he says, that the Roman Catholick Agents and Missionaries swarm about this great City, and debauch the Subjects in every corner. And to throw a Reflection upon the Commons, he upbraids them, Paragraph 23. of his Speech, that he is not call'd upon to make good that Passage. Besides, his Rabble and he seem to have a very good understanding : for they were so far from being exasperated at the Growth of Popery, that they made no attempt upon any Mass-House, but on the contrary join'd with the Papists to pull down*
Places

Places of Protestant Worship, as they do every where to bring the Dissenters under a general Odium.

What he says *Parag.* 41. that he is now judg'd for the Doctrines of the Gospel, and for one of those eternal Truths which the Bishops are so solemnly commission'd to teach; which our Lord, his Apostles, and primitive Martyrs seal'd with their most precious Blood, &c. has been sufficiently answer'd already. 'Tis not in the power of the Doctor or his Faction to produce one Text in favour of his Doctrine: all their Plea from Scripture has been exploded and baffled a thousand times; only it serves to shew his Obstinacy and Seditious Temper, to cast an Odium upon the Commons who accus'd him, and the Lords who have found him guilty. Besides, the Inconsistent Man contradicts himself in this very matter, as we have heard already from his *Political Union*, which is yet more plain from the 14th Page of his Fast-Sermon, in 1702. above-mention'd, for there he says, 'Where the publick Right or Honour is violated, publick Restitution is to be requir'd and given; which if deny'd or contested, leaves it in the power of the Injur'd to vindicate themselves, to seek Justice in the Destruction of their Enemys, and to wash away the Stain of the Affront in the blood of the Injurers. When neither the Law of Nature, or Civil Equity, can bring a People to a true Sense of their Duty, and a discharge of Justice, these are the last compulsive means to strike terror into the Offender, and to extort Right out of their Power. This is grounded in the very first Principle of Nature, that allows Mankind to repel force with force.' 'Tis true, he applies this to one Prince and Nation's making War upon another that has injur'd them; but if to repel force with force be the first Principle of Nature, as he truly says, it makes no distinction betwixt those that make use of unjust force, be they Foreign or Domestick Tyrants: for when publick Right, Honour, and the Laws of Nature, and Civil Equity are violated; Nature certainly teaches us to resist those, whoever they be, that make use of unnatural Force, tho it be by Husbands to their Wives, or by Parents to their Children, which are the nearest and dearest Relations in Nature. The Reason is plain, because Nature it self teaches us that Husbands and Parents are oblig'd by its Injunctions to cherish and protect their Wives and Children, and not to offer them any unnatural Violence: and 'tis the very same as to Rulers, with relation to their Subjects; but with this remarkable Advantage on the side of Communitys or Nations, that the Tyranny of a Prince is of a much more extensive and dangerous Consequence to Mankind, than that of a Husband or Parent. So that the Inconsistent Doctor has by this Concession destroy'd all that he or his Faction have said or can say for the utter illegality of resisting Princes on any pretence whatsoever. Nor was there ever a more illustrious Instance of the

Truth of this upon Earth, than that of Her present Majesty, who tho under all the Ties that Nature or Sovereignty cou'd lay upon her as a Child and Subject, was taught by that first Principle of Nature, to provide for the Defence of her self and the Prince her Husband, by retiring with him from her King and Father, and joining those who took Arms to resist that unnatural Force, which by the Advice of Evil Counsellors, and his bigotted Priests, he put upon his Children and Subjects; as appears by her Letter to the late Queen.

The Princess Anne's Letter to the Queen.

Madam,

I Beg your Pardon, if I am so deeply affected with the surprizing News of the Prince's being gone, as not to be able to see You, but to leave this Paper to express my humble Duty to the King and Your Self; and to let You know that I am gone to absent my self, to avoid the King's Displeasure, which I am not able to bear, either against the Prince, or my self: And I shall stay at so great a distance, as not to return before I hear the happy News of a Reconciliation. And as I am confident the Prince did not leave the King with any other Design, than to use all possible Means for His Preservation; so I hope You will do me the Justice to believe, that I am not capable of following him for any other End. Never was any one in such an unhappy condition, so divided between Duty and Affection to a Father and a Husband; and therefore I know not what to do, but to follow one, to preserve the other. I see the general Falling of the Nobility and Gentry, who avow to have no other End, than to prevail with the King to secure their Religion, which they saw so much in danger by the violent Counsels of the Priests; who, to promote their own Religion, did not care to what Danger they exposed the King. I am fully persuaded that the Prince of Orange designs the King's Safety and Preservation; and hope all Things may be composed without more Bloodshed, by the Calling of a Parliament. God grant a happy End to these Troubles, that the King's Reign may be prosperous, and that I may shortly meet You in perfect Peace and Safety: Till when, let me beg you to continue the same favourable Opinion that You have hitherto had of, &c.

Prince George's Letter to the late King James.

Sir,

With an Heart full of Grief am I forced to write what Prudence would not permit me to say to your Face: And may I e'er find Credit with your Majesty, and Protection from Heaven, as what I now do is free from Passion, Vanity, or Design, with which Actions of this Nature are too often accompanied. I am not ignorant of the frequent Mischiefs wrought in the World by factious Pretences of Religion; but were not Religion the most justifiable Cause, it would not be made the most specious Pretence. And your Majesty has already shewn too interested a Sense of Religion, to doubt the just Effects of it on one, whose Practices have, I hope, never given the World cause to censure his real Conviction of it; or his backwardness to perform what his Honour

Honour and Conscience prompt him to. How then can I longer disguise my just Concern for that Religion, in which I have been so happily educated, which my Judgment truly convinceth me to be the Best, and for the Support of which I am so highly interested in my Native Country? And is not England now, by the most endearing Tie, become so?

Whilst the restless Spirits of the Enemies of the Reformed Religion, back'd by the cruel Zeal and prevailing Power of France, justly alarm and unite all the Protestant Princes of Christendom, and engage them in so vast an Expence for the Support of it: Can I act so degenerate and mean a Part, to deny my Concurrence to such worthy Endeavours, for the disabusing your Majesty by the Reinforcement of those Laws, and Re-establishment of that Government, on which alone depends the Well-being of your Majesty, and of the Protestant Religion in Europe? This, Sir, is that irresistible and only Cause that could come in competition with my Duty and Obligation to your Majesty, and be able to tear me from you; whilst the same affectionate Desire of serving You continues in me. Could I secure your Person by the hazard of my Life, I should think it could not be better employed. And would to God these your distracted Kingdoms might yet receive that satisfactory Compliance from your Majesty, in all their justifiable Pretensions, as might, upon the only sure Foundation, that of the Love and Interest of your Subjects, establish your Government, and as strongly unite the Hearts of all your Subjects to You, as is that of, &c.

The Lord Churchill, now Duke of Marlborough, his
Letter to King James.

Sir,

Since Men are seldom suspected of Sincerity when they act contrary to their Interests; and tho my dutiful Behaviour to Your Majesty in the worst of Times (for which I acknowledge my poor Services much overpaid) may not be sufficient to incline You to a charitable Interpretation of my Actions; yet, I hope, the great Advantage I enjoy under Your Majesty, which I can never expect in any other Change of Government, may reasonably convince Your Majesty, and the World, that I am acted by an higher Principle when I offered that Violence to my Inclination and Interest, as to desert Your Majesty at a Time when your Affairs seem to challenge the strictest Obedience from all Your Subjects; much more from one who lies under the greatest Personal Obligations imaginable to Your Majesty. This, SIR, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable Dictates of my Conscience, and a necessary Concern of my Religion, (which no good Man can oppose) and with which, I am instructed, nothing ought to come in Competition. Heaven knows with what Partiality my dutiful Opinion of Your Majesty hath hitherto represented those unhappy Designs, which Inconsiderate and Self-Interested Men have framed against Your Majesty's true Interest, and the Protestant Religion: But as I can no longer join with such, to give a Pretence, by Conquest, to bring them to effect; so I will always, with the hazard of my Life and Fortune (so much Your Majesty's due) endeavour to preserve Your Royal Person and Lawful Rights, with all the tender Concern, and dutiful Respect, that becomes, &c.

The

The Association of the Lords and Gentlemen at Exeter.

WE whose Names are hereunto subscrib'd, who have now join'd with the Prince of Orange, for the Defence of the Protestant Religion, and for the maintaining the antient Government, and the Laws and Libertys of England, Scotland, and Ireland, do engage to Almighty God, to his Highness the Prince of Orange, and to one another, to stick firm to this Cause, and to one another in the defence of it; and never to depart from it, until our Religion, Laws and Libertys are so far secur'd to us in a Free Parliament, that we shall be no more in danger of falling into Popery and Slavery. And whereas we are engag'd in this Common Cause, under the Protection of the Prince of Orange, by which means his Person may be expos'd to danger, and to the cursed Attempts of Papists and other bloody Men; We do therefore solemnly engage to God and one another, That if any such Attempt be made upon him, we will pursue not only those who make it, but all their Adherents, and all that we find in Arms against us, with the utmost Severity of a just Revenge, to their Ruin and Destruction: And that the Execution of any such Attempt (which God of his infinite Mercy forbid) shall not divert us from prosecuting this Cause which we do now undertake; but that it shall engage us to carry it on with all the Rigour that so barbarous a Practice shall deserve.

The Declaration of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty at Nottingham.

WE the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of these Northern Countys, assembled at Nottingham for the Defence of the Laws, Religion, and Propertys, according to the free-born Libertys and Privileges descended to us from our Ancestors, as the undoubted Birth-right of the Subjects of this Kingdom of England, (not doubting but the Infringers and Invaders of our Rights will represent us to the rest of the Nation in the most malicious dress they can put upon us) do here unanimously think it our Duty to declare to the rest of our Protestant Fellow-Subjects, the Grounds of our present Undertaking.

We are by innumerable Grievances made sensible, that the very Fundamentals of our Religion, Libertys and Propertys, are about to be rooted out by our late Jesuitical Privy Council; as has been of late too apparent,

1. By the King's dispensing with all the establish'd Laws at his pleasure.
2. By displacing all Officers out of all Offices of Trust and Advantage, and placing others in their room that are known Papists, deservedly made incapable by the establish'd Laws of this Land.
3. By destroying the Charters of most Corporations in the Land.
4. By discouraging all Persons that are not Papists, and preferring such as turn to Popery.
5. By displacing all honest and conscientious Judges, unless they would, contrary to their Consciences, declare that to be Law which was merely arbitrary.
6. By branding all Men with the name of Rebels,

bels, that but offer'd to justify the Laws in a legal course, against the arbitrary Proceedings of the King, or any of his corrupt Ministers: 7. By burdening the Nation with an Army, to maintain the Violation of the Rights of the Subjects; and by discountenancing the establish'd Religion. 8. By forbidding the Subjects the benefit of Petitioning, and construing them Libellers; so rendring the Laws a Nose of Wax, to serve their arbitrary Ends. And many more such-like, too long here to enumerate.

We being thus made sadly sensible of the Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, that is by the influence of Jesuitical Counsels coming upon us, do unanimously declare, That not being willing to deliver our Posterity over to such a Condition of Popery and Slavery, as the aforesaid Oppressions do inevitably threaten; we will to the utmost of our power oppose the same, by joining with the Prince of Orange (whom we hope God Almighty hath sent to rescue us from the Oppressions aforesaid) and will use our utmost Endeavours for the Recovery of our almost-ruin'd Laws, Libertys and Religion. And herein we hope all good Protestant Subjects will with their Lives and Fortunes be assistant to us, and not be bugbear'd with the opprobrious Term of Rebels; by which they would affright us to become perfect Slaves to their Tyrannical Insolences and Usurpations. For we assure our selves, that no rational and unbiass'd Person will judge it Rebellion to defend our Laws and Religion, which all our Princes have at their Coronation sworn to do: Which Oath, how well it hath been observ'd of late, we desire a Free Parliament may have the consideration of.

We own it Rebellion to resist a King that governs by Law: But he was always accounted a Tyrant, that made his Will the Law; and to resist such an one, we justly esteem no Rebellion, but a necessary Defence. And on this consideration, we doubt not of all honest Mens Assistance; and humbly hope for and implore the great God's Protection, who turneth the Hearts of his People as pleaseth him best: it having been observ'd, that People can never be of one mind without his Inspiration; which hath in all Ages confirm'd that Observation, Vox Populi est Vox Dei.

The present restoring the Charters, and reversing the oppressing and unjust Judgment given on the Fellows of Magdalen-College, is plain, are but to still the People, like Plums to Children, by deceiving them for a while: But if they shall by this Stratagem be fool'd till this present Storm that threatens the Papists be past, as soon as they shall be resettled, the former Oppression will be put on with greater Vigour. But we hope, In vain is the Net spread in sight of the Birds: For the Papists old Rule is, that Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, as they term Protestants, tho the Popish Religion is the greatest Heresy. And Queen Mary's so ill observing her Promises to the Suffolk Men, that help'd her to her Throne; and above all, the Pope's dispensing with the Breach of Oaths, Treatys, or Promises at his pleasure, when it makes for the Service of Holy Church, as they term it: These, we say, are such convincing Reasons to hinder us from giving credit to the aforesaid mock-shews of Redress, that we think our selves bound in Conscience

Conscience to rest on no Security that shall not be approv'd by a freely-elected Parliament & To whom under God we refer our Cause.

'Tis fit to observe in this place, as we find it in the *History of the Desertion*, that the Court was oblig'd to publish the Princess's Letter, lest the King's own Guards should have cut in pieces all the Papists about *Whitehall*, upon a surmise that they had made her away. Than all which there cannot be a stronger proof that Nature it self teaches us to abhor and resist unnatural Violence, tho it be committed by the nearest and dearest Relations in Nature.

What the Doctor says in that same Paragraph, concerning the Principles of the Church as to Passive Obedience, has been fully answer'd already; so that we shall only observe here, that what he says she has so long retain'd and boasted of as her peculiar Character, is only applicable to his own slavish Faction: and at the same time, since he says 'tis peculiar to her, he thereby gives up the Plea, as in justice he ought to do, that this was also the Doctrine of other Protestant Churches; for if it had been so, it could not have been her Peculiar.

'Tis a groundless Supposition, That by abandoning this Principle she renders her self the most contemptible, as well as inconsistent Church in the world, and must oblige her to relapse into some of the worst Doctrines even of Popery it self: for it appears on the contrary, that if she retain this Doctrine, she makes her self inconsistent with what was her declar'd Principle in Convocation, during the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth*, K. *James I.* with her Practice in concurring with K. *Charles I.* to assist the *German* and *French* Protestants against their Princes; with what she has declar'd to be her Principle at present, by submitting to the last and present Government, on the foot of the Declaration of Rights; and with her blessing God in her Office for the Fifth of *November*, for bringing K. *William* to deliver the Church and Nation from Popish Tyranny and Arbitrary Power, and for making all Opposition fall before him, till he became our King and Governor.

As to that part of his Charge, That the abandoning of this Principle will make her relapse into some of the worst Doctrines of Popery, there can be nothing more silly or malicious, since the Act of *W. and M.* which makes it lawful for us to withdraw our Allegiance (which is Resistance with a witness) from any King or Queen that turns Papist or marries a Papist, as well as the Resistance made at the Revolution, and approv'd by that Act, is asserted on purpose to keep out the whole of Popery.

The Doctor says, *Paragraph 42.* ' That he must insist on all the Doctrines he has taught, as agreeable to the Word of God, and to the Doctrine of our most Excellent and truly

' Apo-

' Apostolical Church ; and which we of the Clergy are oblig'd
 ' both by Subscription and Oath to acknowledg and defend.
 By which his Obstinacy, Inconsistency, and Hypocrisy, are
 still more evident. We have heard already that the Church
 in her Convocations and publick Prayers, &c. has condemn'd
 his Doctrine of Non-Resistance. By the Preface to her Com-
 mon-Prayer-Book, she condemns the Doctrine of his *St. Paul's*
Sermon, p. 8. ' That her Ceremonys are not to be dispens'd with ;
 ' and that they are false to her Interest, to God and Religion,
 ' who give up any Point of her Discipline and Worship : ' for
 in the Preface to the Common-Prayer-Book, she owns, ' That
 ' the particular Forms of Divine Worship, and the Rites and
 ' Ceremonys appointed to be us'd in the Church, are things in
 ' their own nature indifferent and alterable ; and that accor-
 ' ding to the various Exigency of Times and Occasions such
 ' Changes and Alterations should be made therein, as to those
 ' that are in Authority should from time to time seem either
 ' necessary or expedient.' With what face then can this Man
 revile the Queen and Parliament, and lay a double Load of
 Damnation upon them for the Toleration, by which Dissenters
 are exempted from complying with the Ceremonys, which
 the Church owns to be alterable by those in Authority ? His
 Doctrine in this matter is likewise condemn'd by the twentieth
 Article of the Church, which says, ' She ought not to decree
 ' or inforce any thing to be believ'd for necessity of Salvation
 ' besides the Word of God : ' And since 'tis evident that the
 Church of *England* has no where declar'd, that any thing where-
 in she differs from Dissenters is to be believ'd for Necessity
 of Salvation, by what Authority does this Man damn all those
 who so differ from her ? 'Tis in vain for him to have recourse
 to their differing from her in point of Episcopacy ; for that is
 no where in her Articles, which is the Standard of her Doc-
 trine, asserted to be of Divine Authority. We have heard
 again and again, that at the time of the Reformation she was
 of a quite contrary Opinion, as appears by *The necessary*
Doctrine and Erudition of any Christen Man, publish'd by the Au-
 thority of *Henry VIII.* and the Church of *England* after they
 had thrown off the Pope's Supremacy : for under the Head of
 the Sacrament of Orders, they declare that the Scripture only
 mentions Priests and Deacons. *Dr. Stillingfleet* in his *Irenicum*,
p. 392. tells us that Archbishop *Cranmer*, as the Mouth of the
 Upper House of Convocation, answer'd to the Question given
 in by the Lower House concerning Bishops and Presbyters,
 That they were not two things, but one Office in the begin-
 ning of Christ's Religion. And in the Year 1537. the Arch-
 bishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, and the rest of the Bishops and
 Clergy in Convocation, in their Book intitled, *The Institution of*
a Christian Man, dedicated to *Henry VIII.* say, ' The truth is,
 I that

‘ that in the New Testament there’s no mention made of any
 ‘ Degrees of Distinctions in Orders, but only of Deacons and
 ‘ Ministers:’ which was six years before the King set out his
Erudition of any Christen Man, that contains the same Doctrine.
 According to this, Dr. *Holland* in an Act at *Oxford*, July 9. 1608.
 declar’d, That to say Episcopacy is a distinct Order from Pres-
 bytery, and therefore superiour *Jure Divino*; is contrary to the
 Scriptures, Fathers, and Doctrine of the Church of *England*.
 By all which it appears, that Dr. *Sacheverell* is an Apostate
 from the Church of *England*, and not those whom he calls *False*
Brethren, because they say that the Divine Apostolical Institu-
 tion of Episcopacy is a novel Doctrine, not sufficiently war-
 ranted by Scripture, as he expresses it, p. 8. of his *St. Paul’s*
Sermon. Besides, even many of those who affect to be call’d
 High Churchmen at present, have in the Papers that pass’d of
 late years between the two Houses of Convocation, pleaded
 that their Power is not subordinate, but co-ordinate to that of
 the Bishops. All which justifies what the Queen and Parlia-
 ment have done, in settling Presbytery in *Scotland*, and con-
 demns *Sacheverell’s* uncharitable Doctrine.

But since the Doctor says truly, That all the Clergy are ob-
 lig’d by Subscription and Oath to acknowledg and defend the
 Doctrine of the Church; how can he excuse himself from Per-
 jury, for preaching contrary to her Doctrine, not only in the
 respects above-mention’d, but likewise in respect to her tenth
 Article of *Free-will*, and the seventeenth Article of *Predestina-*
tion and Election? p. 16. of his *Assize-Sermon* at *Oxford*, where
 he arraigns that Doctrine and the Maintainers of it, ‘ as re-
 ‘ presenting God to be a hard and inexorable Master, tram-
 ‘ pling upon his Vassals, and loading them with unreasonable
 ‘ Chains and Impositions, taking up what he laid not down,
 ‘ and reaping what he did not sow, and making the works of
 ‘ his own hands to be reprobated Vessels of eternal Wrath and
 ‘ Vengeance for invincible Ignorance and necessary Infirmitys.
 ‘ This is a sad Prelude to Delpair, which God permits some self-
 ‘ tormenting and desponding Men to fall into; and is the most
 ‘ powerful Efficacy of devilish Imposture, which can persuade
 ‘ Men to invent and believe such monstrous and absurd Tenets.’
 The Doctor would do well to explain what he means by *necessary*
Infirmitys, that make Men liable to eternal Wrath and Ven-
 geance. Will he maintain the Necessity of Sin, or that every
 Sin does not make us liable to God’s eternal Vengeance? or
 will he fall in with the Popish Distinction of mortal and venial
 Sin? This may agree indeed with the Morals of the Jesuits,
 and the Canons of the Council of *Trent*; but is quite contrary
 to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, who in her ninth
 Article says, ‘ We deserve God’s Wrath and Damnation for
 ‘ Original Sin, which we derive from our first Parents:’ and
 this

this Sin, if any, must be one of the Doctor's necessary Infirmitys. If he pleases to look into the *Jesuits Morals*, publish'd by Dr. *Tongue*, he may see his Doctrine about Sins of Ignorance and necessary Infirmitys; but we are sure he can find no such thing in the Articles or Homilys of the Church of *England*, who in her seventeenth Article has in the same manner as other Protestant Churches asserted Predestination to be a Doctrine full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable Comfort to Godly Persons; and she gives a sufficient Caveat against its driving any body to Despair, if they will receive God's Promises, and do his Will, as 'tis declar'd to us in the Scripture. By all which 'twill appear, that the Judgment of the Lords against him has given no Wound to the Doctrine of the Scriptures, and of the Church, as he does seditiously insinuate it would, if they condemn'd him.

To conclude: 'Tis hop'd no candid Reader will be offended at any Sharpness of Expression they may meet with in these Reflections, considering the Person and the Cause on which they are made, and the insolent Treatment of the Commons of *Great Britain* by the Doctor in his Speech. 'Tis likewise hop'd they will excuse such Repetitions as they may now and then meet with, because they are occasion'd by those of the Doctor; who care has been taken to avoid them, where they were not necessary for making things plain to the Reader.

P O S T S C R I P T.

SINCE the writing of what's above, we have receiv'd further Evidence against Dr. *Sacheverell* by Mr. *Sawbridge*, who with the Doctor's *Prayers of Thanksgiving for his great Deliverance*, has given us an account of two other Pamphlets writ by the Doctor; which before the publishing of these Prayers were only conjectur'd to be his, but are now fully prov'd to be so by one of his own Friends. The first is intitled, *The Character of a Low Churchman, drawn in Answer to the Character of a Churchman; shewing the false Pretences to that Name: Humbly offer'd to all Electors of Parliament and Convocation. Printed in 1702.* The second is intitled, *The Rights of the Church of England asserted and prov'd, in an Answer to a late Pamphlet intitled, The Rights of the Protestant Dissenters, in a Review of their Case. Printed in 1705.* The Evidence drawn from those Papers we shall rank under their proper Heads. The first is of the Doctor's enmity to and aspersing the late happy Revolution, and the Memory of his late Majesty *K. William*; both which he has so solemnly deny'd in the presence of God, her Majesty, and the Parliament.

In the *Character of a Low Churchman*, Edit. 1. p. 4. he says,
 ' That his Party (the High-Church) were represented as Men
 ' disaffected to the Government, brib'd into the *French Interest*,
 ' and as sower, discontented, and malignant Jacobites, who
 ' were ready when occasion offer'd it self, to make good those
 ' Characters in the Subversion of the Constitution. — But
 ' this popular Cant being by the Providence of God blown
 ' over with the GOVERNMENT THAT SUP-
 ' PORTED IT, another Game must be play'd.' This is
 sufficient to prove that he has villanously aspers'd the Memory
 of his late Majesty; and he does the same by his Ministry,
 whom, p. 1. he calls ' a mercenary, prostitute, and complying
 ' Ministry, who had inevitably ruin'd both Church and State,
 ' had not the last Parliament and the Lower House of Convo-
 ' cation interpos'd for the Preservation of both.' As this re-
 flects upon the Upper Houses of Convocation and Parliament,
 it also libels her present Majesty's Administration; there being
 several of those very Persons now in her Ministry, to whom
 he gives such a black Character: which is another proof of his
 Falshood, in swearing so solemnly that he never intended to
 reflect on her Majesty's Administration. At the same time we
 cannot but observe, how Providence has justify'd the Charge
 upon himself and his Party, which he so boldly denies in that
 Pamphlet, since the House of Commons have undeniably prov'd,
 and the Lords have found it to be true, that he and his Faction
 have made good their Characters, by endeavouring to subvert
 the Constitution.

The next Proof of his Hatred to the Revolution, is his
 Reflection upon the Lord Bishop of *Worcester*, p. 9. where he
 upbraids him with ' justifying the REVOLUTION out
 ' of the Apocalypse, and maintaining Rebellion out of the
 ' 13th of the *Romans*, with resolving Monarchy into popular
 ' Power, and Episcopacy into Presbytery out of *Timothy* and
 ' *Titus*.' Which as 'tis a new proof of his Hatred to the Revo-
 lution, is also an Evidence of the Truth of the Commons
 Charge in their fourth Article, ' That he says there are Men
 ' of Characters in the Church, who are *False Brethren*, and un-
 ' dermine and betray it.' This is still further evident from
 p. 16. where he charges the Lord Bishop of *Salisbury* with a de-
 sign of the same kind, viz. ' To triumph in the ruin of the
 ' Doctrines, Discipline, and Constitution of our Church.'
 There he also charges Archbishop *Tillotson* with the same design
 ' in the beginning of the last Revolution, which he says would
 ' have ruin'd the Church, had not an OPPORTUNE
 ' PROVIDENCE INTERPOS'D.' By which 'tis
 plain he means the Death of the late K. *William*, upon whom
 he reflects further, p. 19. and upon the Lord Bishop of *Wor-
 cester* in these words: ' If there is a Revolution in mens Opinions,
 ' together

' together with Times and Circumstances, this Doctrine how-
 ' ever (meaning Passive Obedience without Limitations or Ex-
 ceptions, and as no conditional, but an absolute Duty, as he
 expresses it, p. 18.) ' will be found an eternal and indispensable
 ' Truth.' And in that same page, he charges the Bishop with
 inveighing against this Doctrine, in a Harangue calculated for
 the *LATE REIGN*, meaning that of *K. William*. P. 23. he
 charges the Revolution-Party, and in them the *late King*, with
 a design to have excluded her Majesty from the Throne; in direct con-
 tradiction to the Resolution of the House of Lords, who ' upon
 ' Information that a Report had been spread abroad, that among
 ' the late King's Papers some had been found tending to
 ' the prejudice of her present Majesty, or her Succession to
 ' the Crown: and the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Devon-
 ' shire, the Earl of Jersey, the Earl of Marlborough, and the
 ' Earl of Albemarle, who were appointed by her Majesty to in-
 ' spect the said Papers, having at the desire of the House se-
 ' verally declar'd that among the late King's Papers, they did
 ' not see or find any Paper or Papers in the least tending to the
 ' prejudice of her Majesty, or her Succession to the Crown, or
 ' to her prejudice in any respect whatsoever, or which may give
 ' any ground or colour for such report; 'tis thereupon resolv'd
 ' by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled,
 ' That the said Report is groundless, false, villanous, and scanda-
 ' lous, to the dishonour of the late King's Memory, and highly
 ' tending to the disservice of her present Majesty: ' as appears
 by their Resolve the fourth of *May* 1702. the very year that
Sacheverell publish'd his scandalous Libel, call'd *The Character of*
a Low-Churchman. Upon this the Lords appointed six of their
 own number to desire her Majesty that Mr. Attorney General
 should be order'd to prosecute the Authors or Publishers of the
 abovemention'd, or such-like scandalous Reports; which her Majesty
 was graciously pleas'd to order accordingly, as appears by the
 Resolve of the Lords, and her Majesty's Answer, which their
 Lordships order'd forthwith to be printed on the 5th of *May* that
 year. Yet the Doctor, to shew his Obedience to the Govern-
 ment, publish'd this Libel after that Order, and after that Par-
 liament was dissolv'd, in order to influence the Electors of the
 next to chuse Members of his own stamp. So that 'tis plain,
 'twas not the Doctor's Merit, whatever else it might be,
 that hinder'd his being prosecuted at that time as a false and
 scandalous Villain.

In that same Page he reflects again upon the Revolution,
 and those who support it, and particularly on the Bishop of
Worcester, in these words: ' When a Court favours it, he can
 ' make Passive-Obedience a Primitive Doctrine, but a *Revolu-*
 ' tion can give a new turn to his Thoughts.'

The Doctor's libelling her Majesty's Administration both in Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs, is further evident from p. 10. where he says, 'The Church of *England* has long made her Complaint in vain to the Royal Power, and the Assembly of the Nation, against Occasional Communion, the most pernicious and destructive Principle that ever the Church of *England* suffer'd under, and the greatest Cloke for spiritual Hypocrisy. This is that which blinds her Eyes, that she cannot discern her Enemies from her Friends; that she often takes those to be such, who make no other use of her Offices and Favours, than to qualify themselves more secretly, and effectually to undermine her.' And with this he charges great Men in that same Page, and pag. 11. where he says, 'Have they not always join'd our Enemies, when any Vote that concern'd us, or the publick Welfare of the Nation or Church, was to pass? Were they not even the greatest test among them, under the pretence of being for the Government, industrious to subvert our Constitution, and for the Church to overthrow its Establishment?' And, pag. 14. he says, 'To whom does the Church owe its Weakness and Impotency, but either to those SUPREME OFFICERS that are its Judges, who have stop'd that Power in themselves, or have given it out of the Church, and betray'd that sacred Branch of its Prerogative, its only Support and Defence, into the hands of the Civil Power?' And, p. 15, & 16. he charges the Upper House of Convocation 'with making the Church lose her Cause even by her own Judges, and in her own Court, lest some of their dear Friends,' meaning the Bishop of *Salisbury* for his Exposition of the Articles, 'might come under the Lash of this Ecclesiastical Scourge.' Pag. 21. he says, 'Some of the most considerable Officers of the Church could not without trouble see who were Friends to its Constitution, and Wellwishers to the Order.' And there he reflects also upon the Bishops for concurring in the Attainder of Sir *John Fenwick*. P. 29. he complains of her Majesty's Prerogative lodg'd in her by the 25th of *H. 8.* says, 'Tis sufficiently known how the Church has groan'd under this Prerogative Act and of the Letter Missive, and Terror of the Penalty for not obeying it, the Pains of Premunire ever since that Act was made; and pleads that the Church and Clergy should be restor'd into that State of just Liberty, which they had before that Act of Submission, and which the Church of *England* ought to enjoy by the Constitution of the Catholic Church.' Now let any Man after all this judg of the Sincerity of the Doctor's solemn Protestation, that he did not libel her Majesty's Administration both in Church and State.

For his Inclinations to *Popery*, he gives us a new Proof of it, pag. 8. where he upbraids the Low Church, because they would

would not allow *Popery to be a Religion*; and, *pag. 10.* where he seems to lay a much greater stress upon Confession, and taking the Sacrament on Death-Bed, than the Church does in her Office for the Visitation of the Sick: which together with what has been said already, and his Plea for having the Church of *England* restor'd to what she was secur'd of by the first Article of *Magna Charta*, and by the Constitution of the CATHOLICK CHURCH, gives but too just ground to suspect, that the Charge upon him at the Bar of the Lords, *as being a Papist in Disguise*, did not exceed the Rules of Charity; for according to his own Rule, *pag. 11.* 'If Mens pretended Principles, and real Practices thwart and interfere, we are to judg the Man by the Evidence of the one, and not by the Profession of the other.'

To this we may add, his excusing the Papists from burning the City of *London*, *Rights of the Church*, p. 6. and his throwing the Odium of it upon the Dissenters, according to the Practice of that professed Jacobite the *Rehearsal*, who by his *Pontificate and Regale* discovers his Inclinations to Popery as well as the Doctor: and all this forsooth upon no better proof, than a Passage in the *London Gazette*, inserted on purpose to prevent the Pursuit of that matter against the Papists, by the Order of the Duke of *York*, and his Brother King *Charles*, whom he afterwards declar'd to have dy'd a Papist. But had not this Man been past shame, he would never have offer'd to revive that Slander, when from the Informations taken by a Committee of the House of Commons in 1667. it appear'd beyond contradiction, that the Original of that barbarous and inhuman Design was trac'd as far as *St. James's*; and when *Hubert* a French Papist did positively own, that he himself begun that Fire in a House in *Pudding-Lane*, by putting a Fireball at the end of a Long Pole in at a Window: of which the Monument there erected is an eternal Disgrace upon the Papists, and their High-Church Advocates. Besides we know, that nothing but Providence hinder'd *Sacheverell's* Popish High-Church and Jacobite Mob from acting the second part of the same Tragedy over again, during their late Rebellion, when they burnt so many Meeting-Houses, and actually put *Rushes*, *Links*, and other combustible Matter into Mr. *Wright's* Meeting-House at *Blackfriars*; which in all probability would have set the City on Fire, considering the Situation of that Meeting-House, had it not been seasonably prevented by the Guards.

We may judg of his Sincerity in protesting before God that he is for the Protestant Succession, by what he says, *pag. 26.* of the *Character of a High Churchman*, viz. *That he is high for the uninterrupted Succession*. Every body must see this to be directly level'd against the *Hanover* Succession, which, as has been said

said already, is an interruption with a witness of the Hereditary Succession, so much defended by the Doctor and his Faction.

His Insincerity in the matter of the Toleration is further evident from his *Rights of the Church*, pag. 1. where he denies it to be a *matter of Right*, and alledges it to be only an *Act of Favour and Indulgence in the Queen*. And to shew his Inconsistency with himself, and his shuffling with the Commons, he calls it the *Act of Toleration*; tho in his Answer to their second Article of Impeachment, he says, 'That after a diligent Enquiry, he cannot find that a Toleration by Law has been granted to Dissenters.' And, pag. 14. he says, 'All the Calamities that fell upon the Royal Line did intirely proceed from their Mildness and Clemency, and the unadvis'd Indulgence, which they gave this insidious Party of Rebels, ever thriving upon Toleration.' And, Pag. 7. he urges the putting the Laws against them in strict execution, according to the practice of *Q. Elizabeth*.

The Doctor's *Friendship to the Jacobites and Nonjurants*, and the reason of their making a Rebellion to interrupt his Trial, is evident from pag. 13. of his *Rights of the Church*, where he makes an Apology for the Jacobites, and charges the Dissenters 'with shifting their own Guilt on them, to divert us from a closer search into their own Conspiracys.' There he very much applauds the Conscientiousness and Uprightness of the Jacobites, who, he says, 'out of a Principle of Conscience are so unhappy as not to be able to comply with the present Government, and are content on that account to suffer the Loss of all temporal Advantages; and do by their upright, tho mistaken Opinion, debar themselves of all Secular Rights and Privileges, and as it were exclude themselves out of the Political Body of their own Country: whereas the Fanaticks, by being imbodied in the Government, like a secret Cancer, corrode and prey upon the very Vitals of it, and are ready to swallow any Oath, tho never so impious and contradictory, and keep it as religiously as they take it, having their comprehensive latitudinarian stretching Conscience commensurate to their Interest, and never interfering with it, their Religion rising and falling with their Gain, reconciling God and Mammon, and making Christ and Belial the equal Objects of their Adoration.'

Pag. 19. he says, 'That every Sect of the Dissenters is more an Enemy to the Principles of the Church of *England* than the Nonjurors; that the Queen's Title to the Crown was not solely founded on the Revolution; that the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and the denial of a mutual Compact between the Prince and his Subjects, are not dangerous to the Monarchy as by Law establish'd——That the Dissenters always oppose the Principles of the Church, in the points of Ecclesiastical

‘fiastical and Civil Government.—Whereas the Nonjurors hold both, but separate only as to the Person in whom they dispute the legal Investiture of these Powers: upon which account the Dissenters must be esteem’d much more dangerous to our Constitution, as being intire Enemys to the very essential Form of it.’

By this we may see the Doctor’s Loyalty to the Queen and Constitution, when he asserts that the Dissenters, who differ only from the Church in things own’d by her self to be indifferent, and who have on all occasions witness’d a steady Loyalty to her Majesty and the Constitution; are more dangerous than the Jacobites, who separate from the Church of *England* in the fundamental Point of her Constitution, which makes the Queen her legal Head: And for that very reason they have enter’d into Plots and Conspiracys with the *French* Papists, and those at home, to destroy and dethrone her Majesty.

We may see also the Doctor’s Affection to the Constitution, when he so expressly denies a mutual Compact betwixt Prince and People, contrary to a positive Statute in the first of *William and Mary*, cap. 6. where ’tis with Truth asserted, ‘That by the Law and antient Usage of this Realm, the Kings and Queens thereof have taken a solemn Oath upon the Evangelists at their respective Coronations to maintain the Statutes, Laws, and Customs of the said Realm, and all the People and Inhabitants thereof, in their Spiritual and Civil Rights and Propertys.’ Certainly if this be not a mutual Compact, since the Subjects took the Oath of Allegiance upon this very account, there was never any such thing as a mutual Compact in the world.

Many other things might be added, from the Doctor’s Sermons and Pamphlets, to prove his Perjury, and manifest Contradictions. But this being more than enough, we shall conclude with the Doctor’s Picture drawn by his own Hand: which, since his Mob are so fond of his lovely Image, they may here see it better done than it has yet been in *Mexxotinto*, or otherwise.

They may find it in his Affize-Sermon, preach’d before the University of *Oxford*, *March 9. 1703*. Edit. 2. p. 12, &c. as follows. And that they may value it the more, ’tis the Picture of his Soul, which they may join with that of his Body, in order to make the Piece compleat.

‘Where a Man’s Nature is wrought up with Impetuosity and Fire, the Spirit will exert it self in Boldness and Ambition, in Rage and Rashness, in Turbulency and Choler. This will make all his Counsels sanguine and precipitate, his Actions unadvis’d and unsteady. Whatever strikes the Imagination thus in a Heat, makes a strong, tho not always a
K lasting

‘ lasting Impression, and hurries the Man away into inordinate
 ‘ Transports. This Constitution, if not subdu’d by the Assis-
 ‘ tances of Wisdom and Grace, will neither let us reason
 ‘ coolly, judg sedately, or act consistently. It drives and over-
 ‘ powers our Facultys, raises a kind of hurricane in the Soul ;
 ‘ and so ruffles and discomposes its Serenity, that it is no more
 ‘ capable of discerning Truth, than a troubled Sea of re-
 ‘ flecting a perfect Image.

‘ This violent Temper has generally the Misfortune to be
 ‘ attended with Pride and Conceit, Vanity and Self-Love ; Vi-
 ‘ ces that darken the *inward Man*, and infatuate and besot his
 ‘ Understanding, and leave him utterly incapable of Con-
 ‘ viction ; for they make him in love with his own Errors,
 ‘ dote upon his Follies, and admire his Deformities. They
 ‘ expose him to the most ridiculous Absurdities, to justify
 ‘ and adore his own Crimes, and to vilify and depretiate o-
 ‘ thers Merit and Vertue. Upon which account he scorns
 ‘ others, and is himself despis’d ; while he rails at them, he
 ‘ is no less reproach’d, and is detested by that World, which
 ‘ he presumes to abhor. Such Men are always carry’d on
 ‘ with a bitter and furious Zeal, fly into Extremes, love or
 ‘ hate in Excess, and view every thing thro a wrong Glass,
 ‘ either magnify’d or diminish’d too much by *Prejudice* and
 ‘ *Partiality*. They are impatient of Contradiction, implacable
 ‘ in their Resentments, boundless in their Hopes, fierce in
 ‘ their Prosecutions, uneasy under Delays, exalted with Suc-
 ‘ cess, and dejected with Disappointment : Like the poor
 ‘ *Demoniack* in the Gospel, they are sometimes cast into the
 ‘ Fire, and sometimes into the Water, and never at Peace or
 ‘ Tranquillity with themselves. Again, where Envy, Jea-
 ‘ lousy, or Revenge get the upper hand in a Man’s Temper,
 ‘ as they are active, busy and prying Passions, and indefatiga-
 ‘ bly working in secret, and always keep the Soul awake,
 ‘ standing upon its Guard, and ready to give or ward a Blow ;
 ‘ so they prepare and qualify it, to wrest and misinterpret the
 ‘ Reports it receives ; and by casting a *false Medium* before its
 ‘ view, play upon it with all the Illusion of deceitful Colour
 ‘ and Appearance : They make it like a sick Stomach, either
 ‘ refuse the wholesom Diet when ’tis offer’d, or convert what
 ‘ it swallows into Poison, and the Corruption of a Disease.’
Vera Effigies H. Sacheverelli T. D. propria manu ad vivum delineata.

Having thus oblig’d the Publick with the true Picture of
 the Doctor, we hope they will not take it unkindly to be
 taught also how to hang him up as they ought to do, according
 to the Directions of one of his special Friends, Sir Roger
 L’Estrange, in his *Esop’s Fables*.

F A B L E LXVII.

A Trumpeter taken Prisoner.

‘ UPON the Rout of an Army there was a *Trumpeter*
 ‘ made a Prisoner, and as the Soldiers were about to cut
 ‘ his Throat; *Gentlemen* (says he) *why should you kill a Man that*
 ‘ *kills no Body?* You shall die the rather for that, cries one of
 ‘ the Company, for being so mean a Rascal, as to set other
 ‘ People together by the Ears without fighting your self.

The M O R A L.

He that provokes and incites Mischief is the Doer of it. 'Tis the
Man that kills me, the Bullet is only a Passive Instrument to serve his
End that directs it.

R E F L E C T I O N.

‘ This is to reprove those (according to the old Moral) that
 ‘ stir up men in Power to do publick Mischief; which is much
 ‘ worse than any man's doing a private one himself: and only
 ‘ a safer way of committing greater Outrages.

‘ The *Trumpeter's* Plea is so arrant a shuffle here, that an *In-*
 ‘ *cendiary* at the Bar, or the *Pulpit*, has as much to say for him-
 ‘ self. He that countenances, encourages, or abets a *Mis-*
 ‘ *chief*, does it. The seditious Lawyer, or Divine, kills no
 ‘ body with his own hand; but by a false Gloss perhaps, upon
 ‘ a Law, or a Text, he may cause Ten Thousand Swords to
 ‘ be drawn, without spilling one Drop of Blood immediately
 ‘ himself. Shall any man now, that wilfully and maliciously
 ‘ procures the cutting of whole Armies to pieces, set up for
 ‘ an Innocent? as if the Lives that were taken away by their
 ‘ instigation, were not to be charg'd upon his account. He
 ‘ that covers Murder, Oppression, Sacrilege, Rebellion with
 ‘ a Cloke of Statute and Scripture, makes God and Govern-
 ‘ ment effectually the Authors of the Wickedness: And those
 ‘ are the basest and worst of *Bravo's*, that imploy *Journymen*
 ‘ *Mercenaries* under them to do the Work. What is this, but
 ‘ to ingage our Bibles, and our Law-Books in a Conspiracy a-
 ‘ gainst themselves? Shall he that gives Fire to the Train,
 ‘ pretend to wash his hands of the Hurt that's done by playing
 ‘ of the Mine? Human Corruptions are as catching as Pou-
 ‘ der, as easily inflam'd, and the Fire afterwards as hard to be
 ‘ quench'd. That which a man causes to be done, he does
 ‘ himself; and 'tis all a case whether he does it by Practice,
 ‘ Precept, or Example. In one word, he that kindles the
 ‘ Passions of the *Mobile*, is answerable for the following Con-
 ‘ flagration,



* flagration. When the men of the Long Robe have once
 * preach'd the People to Tinder, the least Spark sets them on
 * Fire: So that they have no more to do than to inculcate the
 * Doctrine of Disobedience, and then to leave the Multitude
 * to chew upon it. A *Trumpeter* in the *Pulpit* is the very Em-
 * blem of a *Trumpeter* in the *Field*, and the same Charge holds
 * good against both. Only the *Spiritual Trumpeter* is the more
 * pernicious Instrument of the two: for the latter serves only
 * to rouse the Courage of the Soldiers without any Doctrine
 * of Application upon the Text; whereas the other infuses
 * Malice over and above, and preaches Death and Damnation
 * both in one, and gives ye the very Chapter and Verse for't.

THE MORAL

In the first place, the author of this work, who is a man of
 great learning and industry, has taken great pains to collect
 and digest all the most useful and interesting facts and
 observations which have been made by the most celebrated
 writers and philosophers of all ages and nations, and to
 present them in a clear and concise manner, so that they may
 be easily understood by every reader.

M O R A L

This is to inform the reader that the author of this work
 has taken great pains to collect and digest all the most
 useful and interesting facts and observations which have
 been made by the most celebrated writers and philosophers
 of all ages and nations, and to present them in a clear
 and concise manner, so that they may be easily understood
 by every reader.

The author of this work, who is a man of great learning
 and industry, has taken great pains to collect and digest
 all the most useful and interesting facts and observations
 which have been made by the most celebrated writers and
 philosophers of all ages and nations, and to present them
 in a clear and concise manner, so that they may be easily
 understood by every reader.

F T N I S.



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